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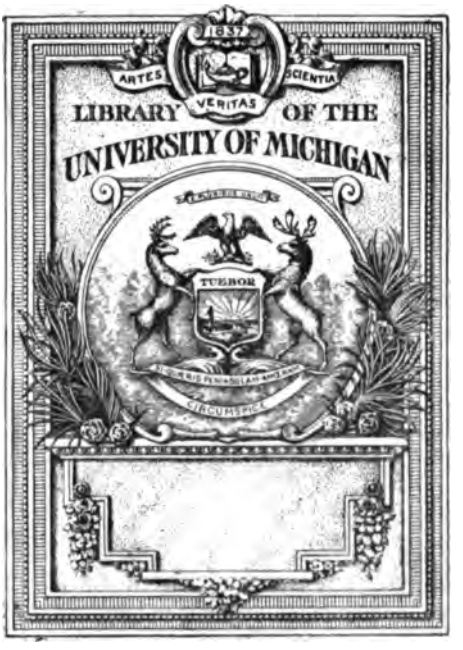
IN WALES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THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES

BEING PART OF AN INQUIRY INTO
THE STRUCTURE AND METHODS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY

BY

FREDERIC SEEBOHM

HON. LL.D. (EDIN.), LITT.D. (CAMB.)

(SECOND EDITION, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON
THE UNIT OF FAMILY HOLDING UNDER
EARLY TRIBAL CUSTOM)

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION

ON THE UNIT OF FAMILY HOLDING UNDER EARLY TRIBAL CUSTOM.

In publishing a second edition of this essay on the 'Tribal System in Wales' something seems to be needed by way of explanation and apology for its reprint without material revision.

It is nearly nine years since the first edition was published and it has now been for some time out of print.

As was stated in the preface it was a part only of a wider inquiry. Its object was intentionally restricted to the study of the tribal system in Wales preparatory to the extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems.

This course was adopted in the hope that the previous study of the strictly Welsh evidence might be used as a key to the understanding of Germanic tribal custom, and so eventually aid in the elucidation of some of the difficult problems involved in the conditions of early Anglo-Saxon society.

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The results of this extended study have been published in a separate volume, 'Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law,' and it seems appropriate in reprinting this essay after so long an interval briefly to refer in a preliminary note to the chief points upon which fresh light may have been thrown back upon the Welsh tribal system.

It may appear at first sight to the reader that the better way would have been to have re-written this volume. But the premature use of comparative evidence has its dangers, and it seemed to be the wiser course to adhere to the original intention, and to leave the separate statement of the Welsh evidence with all its imperfections substantially unaltered.

At the time when this essay was written there lingered in the minds of students a not unnatural mist of suspicion as to the reality of the conditions of tribal society described in the Codes and legal treatises collected in the two volumes of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales.' A good deal of it was, I think, dispelled by the facts recorded in the Denbigh Extent. Results of tribal custom described in the 'Ancient Laws' were here found to be recorded in detail as still existing at the date when the survey was made. In particular it became clear that the unit of holding was the family unit of the 'wele' or 'gwely.' And the description of the gwelys by the surveyors was definite enough to dispel any mist of unreality which had hitherto surrounded them.

It is not too much to say that a definite conception of the Gwely as the unit of tribal holding is as essential to the understanding of Welsh tribal

custom as was that of the Virgate or Yardland to the understanding of the English village community under the open field husbandry of the manorial system.

But it is not easy, from modern points of view, to realise what this unit of tribal holding was and what the methods and internal rights of its members may have been.

Professor Maitland has pointed out that in records of common law and custom features may well be included belonging to different periods and stages of legal thought and economic conditions; so that the whole body of custom as recorded could hardly have all of it been in force at any one time.

This important consideration certainly applies very forcibly to the statements of Welsh custom as to the gwely and internal rights of its members. As contained in the Codes and Extents they do not always appear to be consistent. Therefore any light that can be borrowed from comparison with other more or less similar or corresponding units under Germanic custom must be helpful to the student of Welsh custom. He will approach the study of the Welsh tribal system with all the more confidence if already aware that it is not to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon in history.

The Welsh Extents disclose to us a family group, limited to the descendants of a great-grandfather, holding together the family share in tribal rights and occupation of land as a united body, still generally under the name of the great-grandfather as chief or head of the gwely although he may long have been dead.

As regards the internal rights of the members of the family group the Codes agree in describing three successive periods of equal division.

(1) On the great-grandfather's death there was to be equal division *per capita* in the next family grade: that is, between his sons as brothers; (2) after the death of all the sons there was to be a like equal division in the next grade *per capita* among grandsons as first cousins. Lastly (3), after the death of all the grandsons there was to be a like equal division *per capita* in the third grade between great-grandsons as second cousins.

These were the rules for what was called 'tir gwelyawc,' *i.e.* land of the 'gwely.' It seems clear that the ultimate right of division among great-grandchildren, as second cousins, *per capita*, made necessary the continuance of the family holding till the final division took place. But at first sight it may well be a puzzling question what took place at the final division.

There might be twenty or forty second cousins. Did the original gwely split into as many new gwelys? I think not. Let us suppose that the great-grandfather had three sons, A, B, and C, and that three of the second cousins at the final division were grandsons of A, and ten of them grandsons of B, and twenty of them grandsons of C. There would be thirty-three second cousins but there would only be three new gwelys. The gwely of A (sometimes called in the Extents 'the gwely of the grandsons of A') would take $\frac{3}{33}$ of the family rights. The gwely of B (or the grandsons of B) would take $\frac{10}{33}$. The gwely of C (or the grandsons of C) would take

$\frac{20}{33}$ of the family rights. The members of each of the new gwelys, not being, as between themselves, second cousins, would hold their shares as undivided family holdings until, in another generation, the final division in their gwely among second cousins would take place.

That something like this was what happened is confirmed by the frequent mention, in the Extents, of the 'gwelys of the grandsons of so and so.'

Thus the process would be continuous and might go on for ever.

Now that this unit of tribal or family holding had something like a counterpart under Germanic tribal custom is in itself an instructive and interesting point. There is clearly traceable in the Norse, Frankish, and other laws, something like family ownership by groups of blood relations contrasted with what we may roughly call individual ownership.

In the title *De Alodis* of the Lex Salica there is direct allusion to the ultimate division of the land of the 'alods' or family holdings *per capita* amongst grandsons and great-grandsons. And clauses relating to the family holding or 'alod' occur also in the Ripuarian law and that of the 'Angli and Werini.' The 'odal' holdings under the ancient Norse laws also present many traits of family rather than individual ownership.

The general resemblance between the family holdings of Celtic and Germanic tribal custom need not be a matter of surprise.

It was suggested in this essay that the rules of Welsh custom as to family holdings may, after all, have been the outcome of the *family solidarity*

naturally resulting from early conditions of pastoral as contrasted with later agricultural life. And without direct connection similar causes may have produced similar results elsewhere.

Under Norse and Anglo-Saxon Law, no less than under Welsh custom, the status of strangers in blood is found to rise step by step as generation after generation a more and more perfect kindred grows up around them to swear for them and defend them. In fact, the existence of a family or tribal solidarity not only underlying the family group to the fourth degree of blood relationship as in the gwely but also extending to seventh and ninth degrees of kinship has to be recognised under Germanic as well as under Welsh tribal custom as the foundation of the rules regarding personal status and land-holding.

The root of this family solidarity may have been originally 'ancestor worship,' or perhaps the regard for ancestors, at the date of the laws, may be sufficiently explained as the feeling naturally resulting from the family solidarity without its being necessary to exaggerate it into a religion.

It is not needful to decide which was the cause and which was the effect. It is only necessary to refer to the pages in which the gifted Swedish novelist Selma Lagerlöf [1] has described the family and almost tribal instincts of her hero Ingmar-Ingmarson to understand how even now in Scandinavia the family bond in the popular mind may include ancestors as well as their living descendants. She describes how the conscience of the living Ingmar has for its appeal

[1] In her '*Jerusalem*.'

and sanction the approval of the 'great Ingmars' in the other world whose presence is sufficiently vividly realised to make it natural that they should be consulted in emergencies, especially when the honour of the family is at stake.

This description of the realisation of family solidarity in modern Scandinavia may help to the understanding not only of the family character, of odal holding under the old Norse laws, but also of the continued unity of the Welsh family holdings long after the great-grandfather may have been dead.

Nor is it difficult to gather from the Continental laws themselves evidence pointing to what may probably have been the constitution of the Welsh family group in a simpler and earlier condition than that in which we find it in the Codes, and suggesting how it may have been already modified under Christian and Roman influences in the direction of individual ownership.

It may perhaps be most easy to conceive of the gwely, as we find it in the Codes and Extents at any one time, as a group consisting of a living grandfather and his sons and grandsons, the great-grandfather in most cases being already dead. And we want to understand what may have been the nature of the community of interests among the living members, both as regards rights in the occupation and grazing of land and the ownership or use of cattle and goods.

The rules in the Codes as to the successive divisions among brothers, cousins, and second cousins, nominally relate to the *land* of the gwely, but in the pastoral stage of tribal life *cattle* must have been the

main object and the grazing of cattle the main subject of agrarian rights.

The Extents accordingly bring into prominence grazing rights over large tracts of open country often exercised jointly by several gwelys in common.

The close connection between cattle and the rights of grazing raises important questions. We want to know more than the Codes tell us as to the ownership of the cattle, how far there were common herds vested, with the landed rights of the gwely, in its representative head or chief, or how far the cattle were owned by its members as personal property.

There are, indeed, facts from which inferences may be drawn. For instance, when the matter of the payment of the galanas or blood fine comes into question we find that it is paid in cattle, and that everyone has cattle: fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, all have a right to receive, or are liable to have to contribute so many cows or their equivalent. Obviously the cattle seem to be distributed among the tribesmen very widely, and if every one had cattle he must also have participated in the occupation of the homesteads and the grazing rights of the gwely.

We learn, chiefly from the later legal treatises, that the right of every tribesman on coming of age was to location on land and a *cyvarwys* (or gift for his maintenance) of five free erws or strips with right to join in co-tillage of the waste, and hunting. And this the young tribesman, we are told, had in his father's lifetime, not from his father, but by right of 'kin and descent' from the kindred. But there is no mention of cattle as a part of the *cyvarwys*.

And we learn from the Codes that when a boy attained the age of fourteen he was no longer to be maintained by his father—at his father's platter. The father was no longer to be responsible for his maintenance or his actions. He was to take his son to the chieftain (whether of the kindred or smaller group of kinsmen) and the son was thereupon to become 'man and kin' to the chief, who thenceforth was to support him. He was now to have *da* or cattle of his own, presumably by gift or loan from the chief as representing the kindred. And he was to be on the privilege of the chief and not of his father. So complete, indeed, was his independence of his father that any act of correction by his father was to be reckoned as an assault, for which he was to be liable to a *dirwy* or fine.[1]

The inference that the tribesman received his *da* or cattle from the chief as representing the kindred, and not from his father, is confirmed by the fact that, according to the Venedotian Code, on his death without sons the *da* or cattle went back, not to the father, but to the chief.

The Irish evidence makes it almost certain that the *da* came from the chief. For under Irish custom, as is well known, the gift or loan of cattle by a chief to his tribesman was what marked the relation between them and formed the most prominent link in the chain of tribal society.

The question whether in the Welsh case the young tribesman received his *cyvarwys* and *da* from the head of the wider kindred or that of the gwely is

[1] *Ven. Code* II. xxviii. 4–9, and II. i. 34.

one not easily answered from the Welsh evidence alone. Irish custom might lead us to suppose that he might receive cattle both from the head of his gwely and from the higher chieftain.

The word used in the Codes for Chieftain in this matter is 'argluyd.' But as the father in the same sentences is said to be the 'argluyd' of his son up to fourteen, the word does not tell us much. The transfer of the son at fourteen was from the argluyd-ship of the father to that of the chief.

After all, the main fact to be considered is that the individual tribesman during his father's lifetime claimed his *cyvarwys* and other tribal rights, presumably including his *da*, not by inheritance from his father but by right of 'kin and descent' from the kindred. And it may well be inferred that this fact must have been a vital one in the constitution of both the kindred and the gwely.

In early stages of Welsh tribal society the chieftain from whose hands the *da* was given may have been the chief of the organised kindred. There are clear traces in the Codes of the organisation of the kindred. But when the growth of individualism had loosened the solidarity of the kindred, it may have been the chief of the gwely from whose herds the *da* came and in which it was merged again on the tribesman's death without children.

Be this as it may, other questions arise as we try to realise what may have been the internal rights and conditions of the members of the gwely.

What happened if the deceased tribesman had sons? Did they, under early custom, succeed to their father's *da* and grazing rights, or did these still

go back to the chief and merge in the common stock? Strictly speaking, if tribal custom was to be consistent, perhaps they ought to have done so.

Again, when the general division was made on the grandfather's death equally between his sons as brothers, did the division include the cattle as well as the rights of grazing? There surely should have been some correspondence in regard to them.

Lastly, was the division made only between surviving brothers, or did the grandchildren, sons of a deceased brother, take the share their father would have taken had he lived?

So long as the ruling principle was maintained intact that the tribesman's rights came from the tribe or kindred, and not from the parent, it is easy to see that the idea of a son's succession to his father's cattle and rights—so natural to the modern mind—might, under tribal custom, be by no means a mere matter of course. If the sons had each had their *da* from the chief, why should they succeed to their father's *da* in addition?

Any admission of representative succession if found to exist at any one time might very well be suspected as probably a later innovation upon earlier custom rather than as originally germane to it.

Some recognition of a 'peculium' of individual property would naturally be one of the first innovations upon what may have been the original community in cattle and goods under earlier custom. The tribesman's *da* would increase under peaceful surroundings. Already in the Codes the word *da* has become widened in meaning so as to embrace *chattels*

of other kinds. Thus any incoming rights of succession would have to deal with the *dà* in its wider meaning.

Evidently, in the time of Howel the Good, the succession of sons to a father's property (*trev y tat*) had already been conceded. Indeed, when under that Prince a kind of settlement was made between Cymric custom and the requirements of ecclesiastical law, the dispute was as to whether only legitimate sons should succeed to their father's property.

But had it been so always? And did the right apply within the gwely? Or did it only apply to land more or less under individual ownership? There evidently was land both within and outside the gwelys, and the same rule may not have applied to both.

It is upon these points that the comparative evidence of Germanic tribal custom comes to our aid. And especially useful are the suggestions it gives as to the early constitution of the family holdings and the steps by which the growing tendencies towards individualism gradually broke up the solidarity of family ownerships. The conditions of Germanic tribal society may have more or less differed from those on this side of the Channel, but, after all, tribal society everywhere in Europe had to fight the same tendencies. On both sides of the Channel it was a losing game, and, sooner or later, very much the same goal had to be reached.

In the Scanian Law[1] there is a clause as to pro-

[1] See *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 292–296, on the *Lex Scania Antiqua*.

perty brought into the family by a son's wife, with the heading 'Of a grandfather's property (*bonis*) what portion goes to the grandchildren on the death of a *filius familias*.'

The clause relates to the case of property brought in by the wives of sons '*in sacris paternis cum uxore constituti*.' And it is settled that when there had been no 'definitio' of the wife's property on marriage, it became part of the *communis substantia* of the grandfather, but if it had been specially *defined* and made separate on the marriage, *this separate property alone* went to the sons of the marriage if the grandfather was alive when the father died.

Here we get valuable light at once. First, there clearly was a *communis substantia* of the family group vested in the grandfather as *pater familias*. Secondly, if the separate or settled property of the wife alone went to the sons, the grandfather being alive, the inference is that the unsettled property of the wife went back with the husband's property into the *communis substantia* of the grandfather. There was apparently no succession by a son in the grandfather's lifetime, and the *grandfather* was apparently the chief in whom the *communis substantia* was vested.

Further clauses in the Scanian Law confirm this view that whilst originally there had been no succession of sons, more modern notions of justice had made necessary a modification of the rule at the date of the laws.

Thus, according to Clause CXI.:

'The father surviving, the dead *filius familias* has no successor, as if he had never been born.'

But a later clause (CXVI.) makes the modification by giving power to the *grandfather* to allow the succession if he liked to do so.

'It is lawful to everyone, after the death of a son, to confer upon a grandson, the son of that son, whatever would have been due to the son had his father lived.'

This power given to the grandfather to allow succession by a grandson at his discretion confirms the point that originally, under ancient custom, the deceased son's substance had gone back into the *communis substantia* of the grandfather; otherwise how could he dispose of it?

The point also is interesting that at the date of the Scanian Law the *communis substantia* was vested in the *grandfather* as the *pater familias*, and not in the chief of a wider kindred.

Turning from the Scanian Laws to the *Lex Salica* and its important clause 'De Alodis,' the *alod* seems to include the whole bundle of family rights and property both land and cattle. Its clauses provide for the succession even of females to the inheritance of anyone who dies without leaving sons, and from this it may be inferred that already the succession of sons had been allowed. But a special clause is added to protect the *land* of the alod—the *terra Salica*—from ever passing to female holders, whatever might become of the personalty of the alod.[1]

'Concerning, however, *terra Salica*, let no portion of the inheritance pass to a woman, but let the male sex acquire it—*i.e.* sons succeed to that inheritance. But when, after a long time, dispute may arise between grandsons or great-grandsons

[1] See *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 150–162.

concerning the alod of land, let the divisions not be *per stirpes* but *per capita.*'

It may probably be inferred that while the *terra Salica* of the *alod* remained, like the Cymric *tir gweliawc*, subject to regular division *per capita* finally between second cousins, the personalty of the tribesmen had already become the subject of succession by sons, and now at last, in default of sons, by females.

The Continental evidence throws special light also on the further point: as to the right of grandsons—sons of a deceased brother—to share with their uncles in the family property when the grandfather was dead and the division between brothers took place in regular course—a point upon which the Cymric Codes are not explicit.

In the Lombardic Laws there are clauses relating to family holdings, and one of the laws of Grimwald has the following heading: [1]

'Concerning the succession of grandsons who, after the death of the father, have remained in the mund of the grandfather (*in sinu avi*).'

And the enactment is that, on the grandfather's death, sons of a deceased son are 'to take of the substance of the grandfather such part, with their uncles, as their father would have taken had he been alive among his brothers.' And this was a modification of ancient custom as to family holdings, made to meet the more modern sense of justice.

So that originally there had been no succession

[1] *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 292–296.

to a deceased son, in the grandfather's lifetime. It is interesting to note that in this case the division between brothers certainly included personalty.

A similar modification of ancient Norse custom occurs in the Gulathing law under which in the case of Odal land-holding the right was given to the grandsons to redeem from their uncles what would have been the share of their father had he survived. But here again it was only after the grandfather's death that they could do it, the inference being that they must wait for the family division among brothers on his death.[1]

Now if we look at all these clauses from the point of view of the Cymric gwely, we recognise at once their significance. Upon the matter of the succession of sons to their deceased father's substance—be it in cattle or grazing rights, or what not—the inference from the Germanic evidence seems to be that under early tribal custom there was originally no succession. It suggests that until later modifications of early custom allowed it the deceased tribesman's substance, whether he had sons or not, went back into the *communis substantia* of the grandfather as head of the family holding.

And if at the date of the Scanian law the family group was represented by the grandfather, so in the Welsh case at the date of the Codes it might well be that the grandfather as the living head of the gwely was the chief from whom the Welsh tribesman received his *cyvarwys* and *da*.

With regard to the further question whether the

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[1] *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 284.

essive divisions between brothers, cousins, and
id cousins included only the landed rights of the
y—the homesteads and the rights of grazing and
not—or whether the cattle of the gwely and of
ribesmen were originally also included, there is
valuable precedent that the *alod* under the Lex
a included both land and personalty.

With regard to the question whether originally
ne division on the grandfather's death between
hers the sons of a deceased son were allowed to
into the father's place and take their father's
e with their uncles, again the inference must be
ie negative, for the evidence of Germanic custom
is to show distinctly that it was only by later
ifications of custom that succession by represen-
on was allowed.

Nor would this seem unnatural from the point
iew of Welsh custom under the circumstances.
if we try to realise the feelings of the elder
eration in the gwely, it will hardly seem extra-
nary that uncles should decline to put their
hews, the sons of a deceased brother, on an
ality with themselves—*i.e.* into a higher grade
i their sons could be during their lifetime. Why
ild they not wait till, all the uncles being dead,
y should come with the other first cousins to the
vision among them equally *per capita*?

Regarding all these points together, the concep-
i of the family unit of holding in tribal society in
earlier conditions becomes simple, logical, and
sistent. The head of the group (whether of the
dred or the gwely) is the representative holder of
landed rights and the common herd of cattle of

the group; and the individual tribesmen receive their *cyvarwys* and *da* by right of 'kin and descent' from the tribe through him, and on their death their cattle received from the chief go back to the chief and are merged in the common herd.

The relation of the tribesmen to the chief was therefore not that of joint-tenants, in the modern sense of the term. It was that of 'man and kin' to the chief, from whom they receive by tribal right homesteads and cattle-yards and allotments of cattle for their maintenance.

Now if in the light thus gained from the comparative evidence of Germanic tribal custom and the modifications of it we examine the Welsh evidence more closely, it may be possible to trace in the Welsh Codes and legal treatises themselves marks of modifications on similar lines. With eye opened by the facts of Germanic custom, we may find perhaps in the Welsh evidence itself what was unnoticed before.

There is at least one quite extraordinary survival (if it may be so regarded) of what might seem to be the result of carrying to a logical extreme the independence of the young tribesman who, having at fourteen ceased to be dependent on his father, had become the 'man and kin' of the chief.

The matter refers to the right of the father on the one hand to receive a share of the galanas or blood-money of his son if murdered, and as to the liability of the father on the other hand to pay a portion of the galanas of a person killed by his son.

It would, indeed, be carrying to a strange extreme the theory of the independence of the son if in these

cases the father were neither to pay nor receive any part of the galanas.

In the clause of the Gwentian Code as to payment of galanas, II. i. 14, it is stated:—

'The third of the galanas falls upon the murderer, and the two (other) parts are shared into three shares: two (sub) shares on the kindred of the father, and the (other sub) third on the kindred of the mother.'

This is the rule also in the Venedotian and Dimetian Codes. But in both these Codes the father of the murderer had to pay a part of the third which fell upon his son. And accordingly under these Codes the father likewise received a portion of the *galanas* of his murdered son. The right to receive a share and the liability to pay a share were correlative. But under the Gwentian Code the father shared neither in the payment if his son were the slayer nor in the receipt of galanas if his son were slain. He paid nothing and received only a penny!

(II. xxxix. 14.) 'Three persons to whom galanas is paid and who pay galanas to no one . . . The third is a *father*, for a share comes to him of the galanas of his son, *to wit one penny*, since his son is no relative (*kar*) to him, and no one of those three is to be killed for galanas.'

Nor can there be any mistake on this point, for in another and quite independent clause (II. viii. 8) of the Gwentian Code it is repeated:—

'A father's share of the galanas of his son—one penny'!

Again, in a legal treatise (W. L. Bk. XIV. xxxviii. 14) supposed to be of the sixteenth century is the following:—

'Can a father complain for the killing of his son? He cannot: he is not within the grades of affinity (*carennydd*).'

No wonder that on the death of a son without children the father had no right of succession to his *da*!

Recurring to the right of succession of a son to his father, it is obvious that as gradually this was conceded, a question of the mutual liability for each other's debts would arise and have to be dealt with. So long as the *da* of the son dying without children went back to the chief, as it did under the Venedotian Code, the chief naturally had to pay the son's debts.

So the liability of a son for his father's debts naturally would follow the recognition of his right of succession to his father's property. The obligation to pay the debt would naturally go with the property. Something like stages in this recognition may be traced in the Codes.

Thus in the Venedotian Code (II. vi. 27 and 28) the question whether a son ought to pay for his father on his father's death in case he was a surety or a debtor, was answered as once doubtful.

'Some say that if that son willeth to deny his suretyship, on the grave of the father the legal denial is to be given.'

But this (which was probably old custom of the time when there was no succession allowed) was omitted in making new law. It was now laid down (succession having been allowed) that it was right for

'the son of that surety who is dead to stand legally for the father . . . and if he have no son, the lord is to act as a son to him.'

And the same rule was to apply to the debtor. His son, or, if there was no son, the lord, must pay the

debt, as in that case the lord stood in the place of a son and took the *da* of the debtor.

In the Dimetian Code the rule was different. It had been allowed (D.C. II. xxiii. 19) that if after a division among brothers one had died, 'the co-inheritors within the three degrees of kin' were to be his heirs, *i.e.* the members of the gwely. And consistently with this it was ruled that 'the three nearest degrees of kin' were to pay the debt of a tribesman dying in debt (II. vi. 21): *i.e.* the members of the gwely were to pay it. And this seems to point to a stage or condition of things in which, on the death of a member of the gwely, his *da* fell into the common stock of the gwely from whose chief it had probably been received.

Pursuing the question of succession to the *da* of a tribesman dying without a son still further, it seems that while at first it went back, as we have seen, to the chief or to the gwely, it ultimately was allowed to go to the father. And here again we may trace the steps by which the change was effected.

In the Venedotian Code (II. xxviii. 9) the lord is to receive the *da* in this case, as we have seen. And this is reiterated in a legal treatise of about A.D. 1401 (W. L. X. xvii. 31). But in a later treatise, said to be of the fifteenth century, and evidently belonging to a stage after the succession of sons to a father's property had been allowed, the next step is gained.

'As a son is heir to patrimony (*dref y dat*), so a father is heir to the son's *da* (*da y mab*) unless he have an heir.'

This was logical enough, and shows how one step in the disintegration of original custom led to another,

and how rights of succession gradually grew up within the gwely.

As regards land held more or less in individual ownership outside the gwelys, the right of succession, having been given in Howell's time to sons, was ultimately extended to females.

In the Dimetian Code (II. xxiii. 7) it is stated that

> 'If an owner of land (*perchen*) have no other heir than a daughter, the daughter is to be heiress of the whole land.'

Nor was this altogether without precedent, even within the gwelys, for though as to land there is no trace of the succession of daughters, the Venedotian Code (II. i. 64) allowed that a daughter might succeed to the *da* of her father along with her brothers, taking half a brother's share, and, as we have seen, succession to cattle came very near to succession in grazing rights also.

This mention of land outside the gwelys leads to another point upon which something perhaps should be said. To the student of the Welsh Codes nothing is more perplexing than the mixture, so to speak, of clauses relating now to the family land of the gwelys and at other times to what seems to be more or less individual ownership of land. The two systems seem to be going on side by side, and unless they can be disentangled there is very apt to be uncertainty and confusion. Here, again, I think the comparative evidence of Germanic custom may help us to some extent.

Few more useful suggestions have been made towards the understanding of Anglo-Saxon land-law than that of Professor Vinogradoff as to the distinc-

between boc-land and folc-land. He suggests
boc-land is that land which has become the
ct of charters and conditions of the more modern
. Folc-land, he suggests, is that land which is
:he subject of tribal custom.

have ventured to extend the scope of this
estion to a similar discrimination in the Lex
a between two distinct methods or systems of
ownership, viz. between the *res propria* of the
ıanus possessor' of land, and the family owner-
under Salic custom of the *terra Salica* or land
e *alod*.[1]

Iay we not again apply the same suggestion to
listinction in the Welsh Codes between land held
› or less under individual ownership and land
by the gwelys in family possession under tribal
›m?

t is important to observe that on the conquest of
h Wales it was found to be impossible to bring
Welsh land under the English system of land
re. The Statute of Rhuddlan gave the choice
'een Welsh custom and English law, with the
lt that the two systems were left to work side by
till the Statute of Henry VIII. at last brought
ything nominally under English law, to the great
lexity of English lawyers.

3ut here a caution is needful. Whether we
k of Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, or Welsh economic
litions, it would be wrong to jump to the con-
ion that the contrast and conflict was simply
'een the family holdings of tribal custom and the

[1] *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 158.

individual ownership of more modern legal tenures introduced from outside. We must not forget that within the rule of tribal custom there was something like demesne land in the possession or under the control of chieftains let out often to tenants who were not tribesmen but strangers in blood. And this land outside the gwelys and under quasi-individual occupation and ownership was as truly under the control of tribal custom as the gwelys themselves. It played a part which cannot be ignored in tribal society, and that by no means only in its later stages.

Even upon the demesne land of the chieftain tribal custom imposed many of the restraints involved in family solidarity. And this is just as clearly shown in the earlier as in the later grants made to the monasteries by the chieftains. The consent of members of the family seems generally to have been required to give validity to grants of this kind.

Apart, however, from the chieftain's demesne lands, there was land seemingly held under more modern legal conditions of ownership.

The Codes and treatises use the word *perchen* for *owners* of this more modern type. The term is never, I think, applied to the tribesmen in the gwelys. The word applied to these is *priodawr*, implying possession by tribal or *hereditary* right. But, though an *owner* in the sense of his being free from the tribal rules of division among brothers, cousins, and second cousins, the individual owner was not free altogether from the traditional ties of family solidarity. Even in the later legal treatises the consent of heirs is required to alienation.

The following is from a legal treatise of about the fifteenth century (W. L. XI. i. 3).

'(8) An owner of land (*perchen tir*) having no heir of his body can appropriate his land to whomsoever he will. If there be an heir, however, to an owner of land, he cannot do so; for the owner of land cannot disinherit his heir, nor assign his land to anyone without the consent of his heir, except for their joint interest, to wit during his own time; or through his being pressed by one of the imperative necessities, which free a person's selling his land without consent of his heir; such as necessity for meat and drink, or for money to pay his debt.'

This clause clearly refers only to land in individual ownership. For if there be no heir, the owner has apparently full power of alienation, which he never could have under the family holding of a gwely.

Nothing could mark more clearly the contrast between the two systems of land-holding than another set of clauses in the same legal treatise relating to family holdings. The question is in what court a tribesman's claim is to be sued for by 'kin and descent' (W. L. XI. v. 7).

And the ruling is that if the claim affected only the members of the gwely, it might be sued for in the court of *cymwd* or *cantrev* to which the land pertained, because

'As between brothers and cousins and second cousins, every one of those knows the propriate share which he is entitled to have according to law.'

But, on the other hand, if the claim had its origin further back than the third descent, then it must be sued for in the sovereign court.

The clauses are instructive enough to be worth

quoting, because of the incidental light they throw upon the gwelys, and the reality of the tribesman's rights within the wider kindred.

In Clause 9 of the same chapter is the following:—

'(9) This is the reason that a plaint of kin and descent *from the third degree onwards* cannot be determined in the court of a *cymwd* or *cantrev*, because a plaint of kin and descent cannot be pursued but against a stock (*welygordd*) of co-relatives to the person who shall claim the land, and who shall be holding that land through the same common ancestor from which he likewise claims a share with them in right thereof and being able to trace his unextinguished kin, by oaths of the elders of the country to himself without three times lapsing to the distaff. And lest such land should chance to be in diverse canghellor-ships after being shared among the family stock (*welygordd*) . . . so as not to be cognisable in the court of a *cymwd* or *cantrev*, it was established for a suit of that nature to belong to the sovereign court, so that every one of the family stock might be compelled by the effect of one conjoined plaint to answer jointly to such as should question them.'

The next clause proceeds thus:—

'(10) For it is not regular to move a plaint from court to court for one matter, nor to prefer a plaint, against one person, or two, or three, of kin and descent *from the third degree onward* when there are more of the family stock (*welygordd*) holding the land in opposition to him [the claimant]: because it may happen for an inheritance of land to have descended in small shares, among forty or sixty co-inheritors; and one among the family stock (*welygordd*)—his [the claimant's] father or his grandfather or his great-grandfather—*might be out of the country and without having had a share.*

'(11) And on that account it was settled for that claim to belong to the sovereign court where everybody could be compelled to answer jointly. And if he should there succeed, then he is to be admitted to participate with them; and he would be allotted an equality with each of the united number that should be holding the land in opposition to him.'

Here there is still at work under tribal custom,

presumably in the fifteenth century, the system of family holding under the rules of *tir gwelyawc*.

The case put is that the claimant's great-grandfather may have been out of the country, and so may never have got his proper share in the division three generations ago.

The claim might therefore affect the wider group of kindred comprised in what is spoken of as the 'gwelygordd' in distinction from the gwely. The gwelygordd included a wider group than the gwely. No matter that three generations may have passed since the division in which his great-grandfather should have had a share, his claim is not yet barred, and as we learn from the Codes, would not have been barred till a descendant in the ninth generation made his claim too late. Within that limit the tribesman had a right to his *cyvarwys* and his *da*.

In conclusion, on consideration of the Welsh and the Germanic evidence together, and the light thrown by one on the other, may we not say that through the common influence of Roman and ecclesiastical law, and the altered sense of justice which came in with them, there can be traced a common process of change moving upon remarkably similar lines towards the disintegration of tribal society on both sides of the Channel—in both Celtic and Germanic experience?

And, further, may we not gather from the comparative evidence that this change took effect in Welsh custom from both outside and inside the gwely—that from outside it was felt in the increased independence of the gwely—the weakening of the control of the wider kindred over it—at the same time that from

inside the gwely the family solidarity also was loosened?

It would seem probable that by the time of the conquest of Wales by Edward I., and the making of the surveys and extents, the head of the narrower family group of the gwely had become the chief in whom the family rights and herds—the *communis substantia* of the Scanian laws—had become vested, and that, on the other hand, the growing individualism had by that time progressed so far within the gwely that on the death of a member of the gwely his *da* no longer went back to the chief, or into the common stock of the gwely, but was allowed to pass by inheritance to his children.

If we may take this to have been roughly the stage that had been reached in the gradual disintegration of tribal custom, it may help us at the same time to recognise that under earlier tribal custom the chief of the organised unit of the greater kindred may have been the chief of whom the young tribesman became the 'man and kin,' and from whom he received his *da*, while at the same time the absence of any recognition under earlier custom of the right of succession of sons to their father's *da* may have logically and naturally resulted in the return of the *da* of the deceased tribesman into the common stock of the group of kindred from whose chief it came.

The importance of the wider kindred to the ninth degree of descent from a common ancestor is emphasised by the description of it in the Codes and later treatises as an organised unit under its recognised '*pencenedl*,' or 'chief of kindred,' its seven elders,

and other officials. There would further be a reasonable consistency in the tribesman's obtaining direct from the chief of kindred that provision for maintenance which he claimed by kin and descent from the kindred. It would also be in accordance with Sir Henry Maine's suggestion that the primitive patriarchal chieftain must have had duties which balanced his rights.

'I conceive (he wrote in his "Ancient Law") that if he disposed absolutely of the persons and fortunes of his clansmen this representative ownership was co-extensive with a liability to provide for all members of the brotherhood out of the common fund.'

The importance of the organised kindred may seem to have lessened as time went on, but it did not vanish altogether. The more or less organised kindred remained a necessary element in tribal polity.

In the passages quoted above from a later treatise it is made clear that the tribesman's right to his tribal provision, even in later times, reached back farther than the gwely to a remoter stock, a *gwely-gordd* embracing several gwelys.

And, again, it must not be forgotten that the payment and receipt of galanas for murder was a matter, not between tribesmen or gwelys of the same kindred, but *between kindreds*, although within the kindred those nearest in relationship to the slayer or the slain had to pay or receive the largest share in the galanas.

That under earlier conditions the community of cattle and grazing rights may have vested in the chief of kindred rather than as later in the gwely would

not necessarily prevent the gwely from having been the unit of family holding under both earlier and later custom.

There must always have been, as under Irish custom, a hierarchy of chieftains one above the other, from the head of the gwely and the chief of kindred to the chieftain of the tribe. And as under Irish custom the link between the grades of chieftains was the allotment or loan of cattle so it may have been in Wales also.

The chieftain of the wider kindred, though in theory representing the descendants of a common ancestor, could never himself have been, like the head of the gwely, the actual ancestor of the group of his own descendants.

In this respect the gwely was the Welsh tribal unit corresponding most closely to the Roman group under the *patria potestas*.

In the gwely the great-grandfather was either actually living or had been so sufficiently near in memory to be so regarded. The group of his descendants was a complete agnatic group, for daughters were married into other gwelys, remaining only under the guardianship of the gwely from which they came. The descendants of daughters were not members or co-heirs in the gwely except when, having been married to non-tribesmen, their sons were allowed tribal rights in their mothers' gwely.

In these points the gwely resembled the group under the *patria potestas*.

This, too, was a family group held together by a common descent and obedience to the highest living ascendant, whether father, grandfather or great grand-

father. The *potestas* was that of a living ancestor over the person and property of his descendants, and though the power over their persons was early diminished, that over their property remained a more or less permanent element in Roman law.

The agnatic character of the group included in the gwely was not destroyed by the at first sight anomalous fact that within the wider kindred maternal relations participated in the receipt and payment of galanas. For though the descendants of daughters were not included in the gwely, they *were* included in the wider kindred if they had been married into a gwely within it. If the daughters had been married away into another *kindred*, it may well be assumed that their sons would have no right or obligation to receive or to pay what was the claim or obligation of a kindred to which they did not belong.

There is therefore, I think, no reason to conclude that there was any real clashing between the gwely and the wider organised kindred as parts of original tribal arrangements, although in the course of time some of the powers and obligations of the chief of kindred may under later conditions have descended to the head of the smaller group.

Something like the same kind of transition or descent may have already taken place in Roman custom by the time that the *patria potestas* of the living ancestor had become a fixed element in Roman law.

That there were resemblances between the Welsh gwely and the group under the Roman *patria potestas* need not lead to the suggestion of common origin or borrowing by one from the other. Sir Henry Maine

seems, indeed, to have thought that 'a considerable element of debased Roman law may have existed in the barbarian systems,' but even so the comparative evidence we have considered would not lead to the supposition that it materially affected the core of indigenous custom of both Celtic and Germanic tribes.

The attempt to separate the elements of original tribal custom from the changes which came upon it almost everywhere in Western Europe under Roman and ecclesiastical influences may not have been in everything successful. But when we see rights of succession creeping in practically on similar lines in the case of widely separated tribes, whether the contact with the new order of things came upon them in the sixth or the twelfth century, the uniformity in the changes enables us to recognise them as such, and to seek for the more original body of tribal custom behind them. Not that we regard even this condition of early custom as the ultimate and primary one, but rather as representing a stage of economic evolution in Western Europe which we have found it worth our while to try to understand.

F. S.

August 1904.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS volume contains the first part of an essay which may be described as an amplification of the very imperfect sections on the Welsh Tribal System published more than ten years ago in my 'English Village Community.'

It is confined to an attempt to understand the *structure* of tribal society in Wales. The *methods* of tribal society in Wales and the extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems are left to form the subject of another volume. It seemed best to print this part of the essay separately, so that the Welsh evidence might be considered on its own merits, without the subject being involved at this stage in the greater difficulties which arise so soon as the ground covered by the remarkably full and detailed Welsh documentary evidence is departed from.

The methods of the Welsh tribal system come, indeed, more or less within the range of this documentary evidence, and might well add, incidentally, great strength to some of the conclusions as to the structure of tribal society in Wales. But as it is mainly through comparison of the Welsh methods

in detail with those of neighbouring systems that the links are obtained by which the connections are established, it seems best to leave the consideration of the Welsh methods to that part of the inquiry which is relegated to another volume.

The documentary evidence above referred to will be found, I think, to justify the stress laid upon the Welsh system as a stepping-stone to wider knowledge. So much of it is unpublished, and remains in manuscripts not easily accessible to the general student, that it became necessary to print at full length in the Appendices the passages most relied upon, as leading up to an understanding of the Welsh Codes, and to the establishment on a firm basis of the main facts of tribal customary law.

For the careful transcription and the correction of the proof-sheets of these copious extracts I have to thank the care and skill of Mr. W. K. Boyd.

The value of the several manuscripts for the purpose in hand will become evident as the inquiry proceeds, especially that of the Denbigh Extent, an original copy of which, through the kindness of Colonel Howard, of Wygfair, has been placed entirely at my disposal.[1] An Extent which enters so fully into detail, and describes survivals of the tribal system actually at work throughout a considerable district at the time of the English conquest of North Wales, could not fail to afford the best possible ground from which to proceed to the study of the customary law contained in the Codes.

[1] This copy is now in my possession (1904).

As regards the Codes and legal treatises contained in the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' I will not forestall what is said in the text further than to express the belief that they will be found to fall into their right place when regarded as links in the chain of evidence as to the character of tribal custom which existed both before and after them.

Respecting the earlier evidence great caution is no doubt necessary. I cannot pretend to have said the last word upon a subject so difficult. But I have done my best to place the reader in the position to draw his own conclusions by giving careful transcriptions of the original text of the documents chiefly relied upon, side by side with the translations. And I trust their interest and importance will justify the use I have made of them.

I am much indebted to the officials in the Public Record Office and the Manuscript Department of the British Museum for help ungrudgingly given in connection with the documents under their charge.

I have not often in this volume referred to the conclusions of previous inquirers, because I was unwilling to appear in any way to write in a controversial spirit; but this is no reason why I should not here fully acknowledge the value of Mr. A. Neobard Palmer's excellent work, all the more striking because it has been confined mainly to facts which have come within his own local knowledge and researches. Nor have I neglected to consult the more extended, but at the same time more speculative, work of the late Mr. H. Lewis.

I am aware that to the Celtic scholar the work of an economic inquirer, making no pretence to a knowledge of the Welsh language, will in itself have the appearance of presumption. But if his taste should be offended by the avoidance of any attempt to translate the spelling used in the documents into modern Welsh, and by the use of English plurals to words which in such a connection become technical terms, his anger will, I hope, be disarmed by the candour with which the writer's ignorance of the language is frankly confessed.

I have to thank my friend, Professor RHYS, for many useful hints given, and the avoidance thereby of some of the linguistic pitfalls to which a stranger to the Welsh language was necessarily liable.

I trust that shortcomings of the kind above alluded to will not prevent the reader from appreciating the full weight of whatever economic conclusions may be legitimately drawn from the evidence itself.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the value of a substantial knowledge of the facts of one tribal system as a key with which to unlock the riddles of others. Nor is it necessary to point out the importance of a knowledge of the Tribal System, wherever found, as an almost universal factor in the early development of European society, and in the formation of mediæval institutions.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge the invaluable and constant help I have received from my son, whose study of the remains of the tribal

system amongst the Greeks will, I hope, shortly be published, and form a useful contribution to the subject.

I have also to express my gratitude for the encouragement received from other fellow-workers in Economic History in the course of the studies which have resulted in this volume.

F. S.

THE HERMITAGE, HITCHIN:
March 1895.

N.B.—I have again to thank fellow-workers, and especially Professor VINOGRADOFF, Professor MAITLAND, Sir F. POLLOCK, and Mr. A. N. PALMER in connection with the 'Introductory Note' to this second edition. I have also to thank Professor KOVALEWSKY for his appreciative review in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (1897).

To this edition I have added (in Appendix F.) a transcript of an Inquisition of 24 Edward I., including extents made in 8 Edward I (1280), three years after the peace with *Rhys ap Mareduc*. The ratification of this peace by Prince Llewelyn in 1277 (Rym. Fœd. i. 542–5), confirming the customs previous to the war, enables us to regard the division of the 'comots' in these extents into '*Westuas*,' or gwestva paying units, as of earlier tribal origin.

It having been found that reference in this volume to the pages of the two volumes of the 'Ancient

Laws of Wales' is inconvenient to those readers who have access only to the single volume edition, I have so altered the references as to embrace both editions by making them refer to chapters and clauses in the Codes and the legal treatises. Thus V. C. III. xxi. 9, refers to the book chapter and clause of the Venedotian Code, and W. L. II. xii. 8, to book chapter and clause in the legal treatises of the second volume.

F. S.

The Hermitage, Hitchin:
August 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

THE LAND SYSTEM IN ANGLESEY, AS DESCRIBED IN THE EXTENTS.

I. THE CYMWDS AND CANTREFS OF ANGLESEY.

IN order to secure a firm basis from which to work backwards from the known to the unknown, it is proposed to commence the inquiry by the examination of a typical and well-known Welsh district as described in the various surveys or Extents made since the final conquest of North Wales.

The Isle of Anglesey presents a convenient geographical area for the purpose, and the so-called Manor of *Aberffraw*, on the south coast of it, a remarkably good example of a so-called 'manorial' unit.

Several Extents of the island are extant in the Public Record Office and elsewhere, the earliest being made in 22 Edward I. (A.D. 1294) only a few years after the conquest.[1]

The Isle of Anglesey, according to the Extents, was divided into three *cantrefs*, each of them embracing two *cymwds*.[2]

In each cantref a chieftain's residence, called a

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] The cantref of *Aberffraw* included the two cymwds of *Malldraeth* and *Llivon* or *Lywan*

CHAP. I.

manor, formed a centre for the dependent *villæ* or hamlets scattered over the area of the two cymwds.

The Manor of Aberffraw was one of these central manors, and is of special interest as the royal seat, from early times, of the Princes of North Wales (successors of Cunedda and his sons), till the final defeat of Prince Llewelyn and the annexation to England in 1282.

These describe services before the conquest.

The earliest Extents describe the condition of things on the so-called Manors of Anglesey after the conquest. But from the result of a petition made in the year 1305, and repeated in 1314, it appears that the services mentioned in the survey of 22 Edward I. were the services *before* the conquest—*i.e.* the services by ancient Welsh custom under the native Welsh princes, and not fresh ones imposed after the conquest. In this petition the villeins of the Manor of Penros complained that a mistake had been made in the former 'Extent,' and the answer to the petition was the grant of a new inquiry to be made on the spot by the Justice of North Wales, 'who caused to come before him the best people to know and certify to him what were the customs and services which the said villeins made and ought to make in the time of the Princes of Wales.'[1]

The services, therefore, described in the earliest Extent, although it was made after the conquest, may be taken as the services of the tenants under Llewelyn and his predecessors.

The cantref of *Rhos* included the two cymwds of *Menay* and *Tyndaethwy*. The cantref of *Kemmeys* contained the two cymwds of *Talybolion* and *Turkelyn*.

[1] *Rolls Parl.* 8 Ed. III. i. 308, and small parchment schedule sewn on to the Roll of the Survey of 1294, and see Appendix A c.

Opposite p. 2.

Longmans, Green & Co. London, New York & Bombay.

There is apparently no analogy between the Rosfair cottagers with gardens and the tenants on '*tir borth*' of the other manors with their 'gavells,' and a further examination into the details leads to the conclusion that the 'triple nature' of these manors is one of Norman classification, and did not represent a real feature of the Welsh tribal system.

Need of caution in accepting Norman terms.

Whilst declining, therefore, to be misled by the too rapid generalisation of the Norman makers of the Extent contained in the 'Record of Carnarvon,' and still recurring again and again to it for valuable details, we turn to the earlier Extent[1] of 22 Edward I. as that most likely to represent the condition of Anglesey before the conquest.

In the description of the manors this Extent makes no mention of the *trina natura*, but English manorial precedents are nevertheless closely followed.

II. THE SO-CALLED MANOR OF ABERFFRAW.

Position of the manor of Aberffraw.

Commencing with the Prince's own manor of Aberffraw, we get an unbiassed and direct introduction into our subject.

The village of Aberffraw is placed at the mouth of the river *Ffraw* just where it ceases to be tidal and begins to pass through a triangular reach of sands into the sea.

The Aberffraw mill is placed on the river, where doubtless it has always been, just above high tide.

[1] Chapter House, County Bags, Wallia, Box 148 B, No. 34. *Extent of Anglesey*, 22 Ed. I. (13 Mch. 1294), Public Record Office, now Rentals and Surveys, Roll, 768. Another copy, Rentals and Surveys, Roll, 769. And see App. A a.

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The church is ancient, for it contains a fine old Norman arch and stands on an ancient site on the high ground above the river. Near to this was the palace of the Welsh princes. Between this and the river lie now, as centuries ago, the little strips or gardens of the cottagers, now called 'lleiniau,' and divided by turf balks.

Divided by the river into two parts.

The territory included in what was called the manor in the Extents was divided into two parts by the river *Ffraw*, and the broad, sandy, and marshy tract on the east side of it (called the *Tywyn Aberffraw*) runs far into the land, nearly up to the '*Llyn Coron*,' from which the *Ffraw* river flows.

There was a second mill on the stream above the Llyn called *Dyndroval*, and a third on another stream N.W. of Aberffraw called *Melin-y-Bont*.

The western portion of the manor lies behind the site of the palace, and forms a blunt promontory between the Ffraw river and the next bay. It also extends to the north a few miles inland.[1]

Parish of St. Cadwaladr.

The eastern portion makes a similar promontory between the *Tywyn Aberffraw* and the tidal estuary of the river *Cefni*. But this eastern part of the manor is abruptly cut off from extension inland by the parish of St. Cadwaladr, which, apparently from the sixth or seventh century, by grant of the ancestors of the Welsh princes, was handed over to the Church, and freed from tribal or other secular services to them.

One of the features of the position of the manor

[1] The boundaries are given at the end of the Survey of 1608, Land Revenue, Record Office, Ancient Surveys, vol. 17 (24), f. 62.

of Aberffraw is the access to the sea all along the rocky coast for small boats in the numerous 'porths' or natural harbours running up between ridges of rock and ending in a sandy beach.

Porths and places of refuge.

The parish of Cadwaladr has its own little porth —*porth Cadwaladr*—and each member of the manor near the coast had its own porth in the same way bearing its name. It sometimes also had its own place of refuge for cattle in a rocky peninsula running out into the sea, called a *dinas* and bearing its name.

The several Extents.

There are several manuscript Extents or surveys of the Manor of Aberffraw more or less in detail and bearing date 1294, 1339, 1351, 1352 ('Record of Carnarvon'), and 1608 (see Appendix A).

The various members or hamlets of the manor are, with little exception, traceable throughout this remarkable series, and they are still easily recognised on the ground and on the Ordnance map in the names of the most substantial farmhouses of the modern estates.

The demesne. The *Maerdref* and *Garthey*.

The Extents before the Black Death describe first what in the Domesday Survey would have been called the lord's *demesne*, including 5 carucates of land, 3 mills, 2 meadows, and the fishery. This demesne land embraced what the later Extents describe as the hamlets of *Garthey* (consisting of 14 gardens near the church), of *Maerdref* (the *tref* under the *land maer* of the Welsh Codes—the home farm of the manor), and *Trefcastell*.[1] The

[1] Trefcastell is described in the Extent of 1351 as part of the *terra dominica*. Its tenants at that time occupied one of the carucates.

This is explained by the remarkable tenacity of Welsh custom and the extraordinary continuity secured by it from one Extent to the other for 300 years after the conquest.

These surviving terms help to bridge over the periods before and after the conquest, and so to connect the Codes and the Extents.

One feature common to both is the location of the free and bond tenants in separate hamlets or groups of homesteads. Each class of hamlets must therefore be separately examined.

III. THE FREE TENANTS OF ABERFFRAW.

The free tenants occupy in *weles*.

The free tenants are described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as occupying *Weles*. We shall see hereafter that the *wele*[1] or *gwely* was, strictly speaking, rather the family or kindred occupying the hamlet than the hamlet itself, and that mostly a hamlet was occupied by several *weles*.

In the Extents the old food rents of the free tenants or *weles* had already been commuted into money payments. And these money payments were evidently treated as not charges upon persons but permanent charges upon the holdings in occupation at the time of the conquest. They were scrupulously respected by the conquerors, and have mostly been left unaltered from that time to this. The amounts of these rents are practically the same, even to the small details, in the Extent of 1294 and that of 1339 half a century later. And comparing these with the later surveys and Extents the evidence is

[1] Pronounced '*welly*' as '*gwely*.'

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conclusive of the literal truth of the historical statement that the rents of the free tenants remained unaltered by the conquest of Wales.

The rents of free tenants.

The rents of the free tenants in the Extent of 1294 are stated as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Of Aberffraw itself . . .	1	9	8
Of Bodeueurick . . .	0	15	11
Of Trewaspatrik . . .	0	10	0
	£2	15	7

They are the same in the Inquisition of 1339. They are the same in the Extent of 1351 after the Black Death.

They are the same in total in the 'Record of Carnarvon' in 1352, though somewhat varied in the classification of them and increased by two additional items.

The record commences with the statement that there were 4 *free weles*, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Wele Porthorion paying . .	1	1	0
Wele Simond „ . .	0	3	2
Wele Bodeueurik „ . .	0	17	11
Wele Trefwaspadrik „ . .	0	13	6
	£2	15	7

exactly the old amount; to which are added:—

	£	s.	d.
Gavell Sayr (carpenter's gavell)	0	3	8
4 bovates (escheat) . . .	0	3	6
	0	1	0
Making the total . .	£3	3	9

They remain the same for centuries.

Finally in the Survey of 1608 the *Summa Totalis* of the 'Rents of Assize of Free Tenants' = 3*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

These money payments are the amounts into

which the ancient food rents of the free tribesmen were commuted, and the continuity, as already pointed out, shows that they were regarded as charges on particular lands or holdings, and not personal charges. Many of them are still payable as ancient quit rents throughout North Wales.

Their services.

Besides these money payments there were, however, customary services. Although the Extent of 1294 mentions no services beyond the money rents of the free tenants, there is other evidence that services were due from them. These are set out at length in the 'Record of Carnarvon.'[1]

The *Wele* of the gate-keepers.

The *Wele Porthorion* (or Homestead of the Gate-keepers) did suit at the Courts of the cymwd and cantref. The *heredes* of it were liable to payment of a fine or relief of 10*s.* on the entry of a new tenant, and an *amobr* of the same amount on the marriage of their daughters. For their grinding they went to the Prince's mill at Aberffraw. There they ground their wheat and malt without toll, and all other grain at a toll of $\frac{1}{30}$ measure. And they made and repaired one *vechme* of the wall of the lord's manor house on one side of the gate and another *vechme* of wall on the other side of the gate. And if the Prince were at home they had from him meat and drink for nine men whilst making the wall.

The *heredes* of *Wele Simond* were liable to the same suit at Court and mill, and the same amounts of *relief* and *amobr*, but did no work on the wall.

The *Wele* of the smith.

The *heredes* of *Wele Bodeueurik* (if the early spelling *Bodeueurik* may be trusted, possibly the Home-

[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 48.

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stead of the Smith—literally, of the *Goldsmith*) and the *Wele Trewaspatrick* (of servants of Patrick) paid the same suit and relief &c., and instead of work on the wall were liable to the *kilgh hebbogothion* or service in connection with the hawking expeditions of the Prince or his chief falconer.

Of the carpenter.

The *heredes* of the *Gavell* of the *Sayr* or carpenter were liable to the same *relief* and *amobr*, but not liable to the work on the palace wall or the hawking service.

These homesteads seem to be those of officers of the Court, and may well have been direct survivals of the times before the conquest.

They are officers of the Prince.

The amount of the payment for relief (the Norman equivalent for the Welsh *ebediw* or death fee) and the *amobr* or maiden fee payable on marriage or incontinence, viz. 10*s*., suggests that these free tenants on the demesne were subordinate officers of the Court holding their land upon free tenure for their services.[1]

The holding of the *Porthorion* or gatekeepers at the Porter's Lodge was probably a survival from before the conquest. Though no prince now lived at the Palace of Aberffraw, its walls were not at once allowed to decay. It continued as a Court and a prison if not as a palace. The porter (*porthaur*) under the Venedotian Code was an important official. He had his dwelling in the gateway, and had charge of the great gate,[2] and in his house lodged the King's

[1] The *ebediw* and *amobr* of the principal officers of the palace were 20*s*., of the subordinate officers 10*s*., of inferior persons 5*s*.—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, *W.L.* XIV. x. 17.

[2] *Venedotian Code*, I. xi. 9.

and the Queen's 'door-wards.'[1] He was to summon the men of the *Maerdref* to work. His land and the land of the door-wards were free by reason of their office, and having the responsibility of the gate it was natural (though not stated in the Code) that the responsibility of keeping the wall on both sides of the gate in repair should rest upon the gatekeepers and be attached to their land.[2]

The smiths and the carpenters may also well be survivals. According to the Venedotian Code, the smith of the Court had to do all needful work for the palace (except certain things) and had his land free on account of his office. His work could hardly be dispensed with, whether the shoeing of horses or the mending of the ploughs of the *Maerdref*, or of the hinges of the gates, or the fastening or unfastening of the prisoners' chains, all of which were items of his duty under the Codes.[3]

There is a small fragment of the Court Roll of Aberffraw, dated 1346, at the Record Office,[4] which shows that the porters still had charge of the prison, for it contains an entry of a fine on the porters for allowing prisoners to escape.

The examination of another Extent will elicit further information respecting the free tenants or successors of the Welsh free tribesmen. The Extents

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[1] *Venedotian Code*, I. xx. 7, I. xxvi.

[2] *Id.* I. xxvi.

[3] *Id.* I. xl. and I. vii. 11. There were Smiths on other manors, as well as other officers. Thus on the manor of Penros in Anglesey there were *gavells* of the Carpenter (*Sair*), of the Smiths (*Govent*), of the Gatekeepers (*Porthorion*) and of the Squires (*Huysorion*).

[4] *Crt. Rolls*, Bundle 215, No. 13 (Record Office). See App. A d.

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of Aberffraw reveal mainly the relations to the chieftain of those who were subordinate court officials.

IV. THE SO-CALLED 'VILLANI' AND 'NATIVI' OF ABERFFRAW.

Some of the so-called *villani* or *nativi* of the Extent of 1294 were located on the *demesne land* of the Prince, and others in detached hamlets.

The demesne, according to the Extent of 1294, consisted of five carucates and two meadows.

The *villani* or *nativi* of the *Maerdref.*

From the other Extents we learn that it included the hamlets of the *Maerdref* and *Garther* and *Tref-castell.*

The services of the tenants of all these are described under the heading *The Villani of Aberffraw*, *i.e.* the villani of the demesne, as apart from the outlying hamlets in which other groups of *villani* were placed.

The cottiers' gardens.

The gardens of the *villani* or cottier tenants included under the head *Garther* in the later surveys can hardly be other than those already mentioned as still divided by their turf balks and lying under the shadow of the church and formerly under the palace walls, close to the village where their 'cubiculi' or cabins were huddled together very much as the cottages are now in the present village.

They are described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as consisting of[1]:—

> 14 gardens of *terra nativa* paying rents varying from 16*d.* to 7*s.* They did suit at the lord's mill at Aberffraw. They pay on account of *staurum*, and do carriage service. [There is no mention of *relief* or *amobr.* Probably they were people too small to have to pay on these accounts.]

[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 49.

The rest of the demesne consisted of the *Maerdref* and *Trefcastell* with the five carucates (say 600 acres) of land. The *Maerdref* was the Prince's home farm, and *Trefcastell*, with the one carucate attached to it in the later Extents, was probably the central farm homestead of the demesne. It now survives as a substantial stone-built farmhouse with stone farm buildings forming a square behind it. It stands close by the *porth* at the extreme western edge of the Manor. The porth is a remarkably good one, affording more shelter and room than any other, and, as the name probably implies a stone-built homestead above the ordinary strength, it will be hardly wrong to consider *Trefcastell* as the farm homestead of the *Maerdref* cultivated by the '*villani* of Aberffraw' under the management and responsibility of the '*land maer*' of the Welsh Codes.[1]

The *Maerdref*, the home farm worked by the *villani*,

As we have seen, the porter was to summon the men of the *Maerdref* to their work, showing perhaps that they lived in the village close to the palace gates.

But it was the *land maer* who had to superintend the ploughing and who was generally responsible for the services of the men of the *Maerdref*. The following is the general description of their services in the Venedotian Code :—[2]

under the *land maer*.

> 'The men of the maertrev are to make a kiln and a barn for the King, and to supply them when it may be necessary. They are to pay the tunc (money dues) of their land into the hand of the land maer, and they are to support him twice in the year. They are to thresh, to kiln dry, to reap, and to harrow, and to

[1] *Venedotian Code*, I. xxxvi. 11. Trefcastell was described in the *Record of Carnarvon* as in the hands of tenants who paid 60*s.* of rent, and the same rent was named by the Crown on the sale to the City of London in 1628.

[2] *Id.* II. xx. 9. The word translated 'King' is *brenhin*, meaning the Prince or head chieftain.

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mow hay, and provide straw, and fuel for the fire, as often as the King visits the Court, and when the King comes to the Court they are to present the King, according to their ability, either with sheep, or lambs, or kids, or cheese, or butter, or milk.'

Services of the men of the *Maerdref.*

Let us compare this general statement of these services with those described in the Extent. The latter inform us how at the date of the conquest the *land maer* of Prince Llewelyn regulated his *Maerdref* at Aberffraw in order to supply the wants of his palace and household.

The services of the men of the *Maerdref* and *Garthey*, as described in the Extent of 1294, may be summarised thus :—

First, their 'rents of assize' [*i.e. tunc*] amounted to **8s. 8d.**

Second, they had to supply 10½ crannocs of wheat.
8 „ oatmeal.
4 „ barley meal.

And these dues were valued at **48s. 7d.**

[These, apparently, were paid from the results of their joint ploughing, which it was the land maer's duty to regulate.]

Group of nine *villani*,

Then there was a group of 9 villani who rendered jointly the milk of 8 cows, 4½ sheep, 9 lambs, butter, 150 eggs, 27 hens, valued at **16s. 8d.**

and of six,

There was another group of 6 tenements (then empty), but from which had been due jointly 3 sheep, 6 lambs, 9 hens, butter, 100 eggs, valued at **5s. 1d.**

and of nine,

There was another group of 9 villani, rendering jointly 27 hens worth **2s. 3d.**

Also 3 days' work at cutting corn, receiving each a loaf a day = **2s. 3d.**

The villani, as a body, also had to supply fire and straw in the Royal Court, worth **30s. 0d.**

and of fifteen.

Besides this, a group of 15 villani had to find in the autumn 300 day-works, by which [in addition to 80 day-works found by the *villani forenseci* of the cantref] the land of the *maerdref* was tilled **66s. 9d.**

Also 600 day-works of men and horses at harrowing **75s. 0d.**

The villani also had to find 10 crannocs of oats for the horses **6s. 8d.**

Making the total value of their payments and services **£13 1s. 6d.**

This shows clearly that the so-called villein payments and services were regarded, like those of the free tenants, as due from the land or groups of holdings and not as personal charges upon single occupants.

Other services.

The 'Record of Carnarvon' gives the further information that the *villani* of the *maerdref*

> 'do suit at the lord's mill of *Bout* (*i.e. Bont*) and *Traith.* [The demesne land lying west and north of the village, the mill of *Bont* would be their nearest mill.] Further, they carry timber and millstones within the Isle of Anglesey at their own charges. And they do joint work on the watercourse of the said mills. And they pay for relief and amobr 2*s.*, if able, but not otherwise. And they pay Kilgh Raglot. And they do the lord's carrying. And they pay a share of *staurum*, and nothing more.'[1]

These actual services of the so-called *villani* of Aberffraw correspond remarkably closely with the services normally due from the *aillts* and men of the Prince's *maerdref* as described in the Venedotian Code above cited.

There is another point mentioned in the 'Record of Carnarvon' requiring attention, viz. the tenure of these tenants of the *maerdref*.

Tenure of *villani*.

The Extent of 1294 has already disclosed that the *villani* of the *maerdref* were arranged in groups. There were two groups each of nine *villani* making certain contributions. There was another group of fifteen *villani* who had jointly to find 300 day-works. These groups suggest very strongly arrangements for joint liability.

But an entry in the 'Record of Carnarvon' is more explicit. It runs thus[2]:—

> There is [in Aberffraw] another hamlet called *Mairdref*. And it is of such a nature that if there were only one sufficient tenant he would be charged with the whole rent.'

[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 49. [2] *Id.*

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Tenure *de natura de trefgevery.*

In other parts of the 'Record of Carnarvon,' land under this joint liability is said to be *de natura de trefgevery*, and this at once connects it with the normal form of *villein tenancy* (if for the present we may so call it) in the Welsh Codes.

The Venedotian Code[1] states that the 'maer and canghellor are to regulate the King's *aillts* upon their *tyr kijurijw*[2] or *register land.*' And in another passage it states as follows:—

> 'Geldable land is not to be divided between brothers, but the maer and canghellor are to share it equally between all in the trev, and on that account it is called *tir kijurijw.* And there is to be no extinguished erw (*i.e.* escheated to the lord) in the register land; but if there be an erw of that description in it the maer and canghellor are to share it in common among all, to one as well as to another, and no one is to remove from his legal tyddyn (or homestead) if an equivalent can be obtained for it of other land.
>
> 'And as we have said above respecting the other, so the maer is to proceed as to the land of the *maertrev*, leaving everyone in his tyddyn according as he best may.'[3]

From these passages it appears that the land of the *maerdref* was of the nature of such regulated land (*i.e.* in the nature of *trefgevery*). All the *aillts*, whether of the *maerdref* or of separate hamlets, were to be thus regulated, and those of the *maerdref* of the Prince were to be regulated by his *land maer.*

Accordingly, the 'Record of Carnarvon' describes not only the *maerdref*, but also the outlying hamlets of *nativi* as of the nature of *trefgevery.*

To these outlying hamlets attention may now be turned.

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[1] II. xviii.

[2] See *W.L.* IX. xxxii., where a *tref* of such regulated land is called *tref gyffry.*

[3] *Venedotian Code*, II. xii.

V. THE OUTLYING HAMLETS OF ABERFFRAW.

Passing now from the demesne and western portion of the manor to what are called in the Extents the Hamlets of the manor, they are thus described in the Extent of 1294 :—

The Hamlet of *Trefberewet* is described as a group of nine *villani* rendering :— Group of nine *villani*,

	£	s.	d.
In rents	0	9	8
4 crannocks of barley meal .	0	5	4
9 sheep	0	4	6
9 lambs	0	1	6
Butter	0	2	3
180 eggs	0	0	7
9 hens	0	0	9
Work, 161 days . . .	1	16	2½
	£3	0	9½

From the 'Record of Carnarvon' we learn that this hamlet was of the nature of *trefgevery*, and there is mention also of their services :— holding *trefgevery*

> The tenants did suit to the Aberffraw mill, did carrying of timber and millstones to the mill, repaired the ditch, and did joint work at the watercourse [just as the men of the *maerdref* did at the mill of *Bont*], and they paid *propartem stauri*, and they did carriage service for man and horse at 2*d.* They paid for *relief* and *amobr* 5*s.*, and *kilgh hebbogothion*.[1]

The dues from the Hamlet of *Dyncloyden* are described in the Extent of 1294 thus :—

[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 49.

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villeyn hamlets.

	s.	d.
Rent of one villein, viz. of *David Hibernicus*, who pays half of corn and milk, which is called *merionyth*[1].	2	0
The sons of Gregory ap Llewellyn pay:—		
1 cran. wheat, 4 cran. oats	8	6
2 sheep	1	0
2 lambs	0	4
Butter	0	6
40 eggs	0	1½
6 hens	0	6
30 days' work	3	9
De *Pellipariis*, ½ cran. barley meal, ½ sheep, ½ lamb,		
10 *cunæ* of butter, and ½ hen	1	1½
7 days' work	0	11¼
	18	9¼

The 'Record of Carnarvon' describes this hamlet as *de terra nativa domini*, and the tenants as doing the same services as those of the hamlet of *Trefberewet*. The farm still bearing the name of *Dynloidan* lies near the sea, and has its own 'porth' and 'dinas' as already mentioned.

The dues from the Hamlet of *Weuentefrau* were:—

	s.	d.
Rent of *villani*	8	4
1½ lamb, 30 *cunæ* of butter, 5½ hens, 1 *istor bladi*, 18 days' work	1	6½
	4	10½

They answer as to meryonnyth with the *villani* of *Trefberewet*.

This hamlet, under the name of *Kendrefrowe*, is described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as of the

[1] A somewhat similar custom of letting out cattle to tenants for the summer, reserving as rent a share in the milk, is still known in some parts of Wales, under the very similar name of *maerwriaeth*, or *cadw havod*. See Mr. L. Thomas's *Report on Labour in Wales*, b. ii. p. 64. See also use of the word *maeronaeth* for 'dairy-farming,' in *Welsh Laws*, W.L. XIII. ii. 75, and of the word *maerty* in Monmouthshire for dairy-house.

nature of *trefgevery*, like the *maerdref* and *Trefberewet*, and as doing similar services.

Finally, there is a clause which states that all the *villani* of the Prince of Aberffraw pay every year for the work of the animals of the house 2*s*.

All these outlying hamlets appendant to Aberffraw were thus *villein* hamlets, according to the Extents, regulated by the Prince's officers, and in a special way connected with the Prince's estate or manor, more so apparently than were those of the rest of the cantref.

VI. DUES AND SERVICES FROM THE REST OF THE CANTREF.

Separate *villæ* of free tenants and *villani*.

The rest of the cantref—*i.e.* the territory outside the boundaries of the Prince's manor or estate, and scattered over the two cymwds—consisted of what are called in the survey *villæ*, which seem to be groups of homesteads, some of them of free tenants and some of them of *villani*, and occasionally of both.

The *free tenants* and *villani* of these *trefs* or *villæ* paid as under:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
In rents of assize from free tenants . . .	86	4	8
In rents, corn, oatmeal, butter, eggs, hens, &c., and for the '*potura*' of 1860 men and 403 horses and of dogs, from villein tenants, amounting in value to	28	6	0
The *villani* of the cantref also furnished special dues, and gave a day's ploughing once a year, valued at	4	6	11
The perquisites of the Court amounted to . .	2	0	0
Making a total of	£65	17	7

VII. THE RELATIVE BURDEN OF THE DUES AND SERVICES.

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Giraldus Cambrensis described Anglesey as containing the best corn-growing land in Wales.[1]

The Welsh, he says, ploughed for their oats in March and April, and for wheat in summer and winter, yoking to their ploughs seldom fewer than four oxen. The four oxen were yoked abreast, as in the Isle of Man and in Scotland, and Giraldus mentions that the driver walked backwards in front of the oxen, as was the case also in Scotland.[2]

Return of number of cattle in fourteenth century.

Bearing in mind that Anglesey was an agricultural as well as pastoral district, some light may be obtained from a comparison of the number of cattle in the manor and hamlets of Aberffraw, according to an assessment to a 'Fifteenth' made early in the fourteenth century,[3] and in the parish of Aberffraw in 1893, according to the Agricultural Returns.

In the fourteenth century there were in all sixty-eight holdings of persons having cattle. Probably there are not as many at the present time.[4]

Only seven of these in the fourteenth century possessed a full yoke of four or more oxen; the rest must, therefore, have joined with others in the ploughing, unless they used horses or cows to make up the plough team.

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[1] *Descr. Kamb.* C. I. vi.

[2] C. I. viii. and xvii., and see Train's *Isle of Man*, ii. p. 24.

[3] Treasury of Receipt, Miscell. $\frac{5}{4}\frac{8}{8}$, Public Record Office. Now Lay Subsidy $\frac{2}{4}\frac{4}{6}\frac{2}{2}$. See Appendix A f.

[4] In 1890 the number of small agricultural holdings under 50 acres, but excluding allotments, was 48.

The numbers of cattle, horses, and sheep at the two dates were as follows:— CHAP. I.

	1320–40		1893
Oxen	(valued at 5*s.* per head)	137	
Cows	,, 3*s.* 4*d.* ,,	262	
Averia,[1] 3 yrs. old	,, 2*s.* 6*d.* ,,	38	
,, 2 ,,	,, 2*s.* ,,	91	
Total of cattle		528	1,711
Horses	,, 5*s.* ,,	71	
Jumenta (Mares)	,, 5*s.* ,,	36	
Total of horses		107	242
Sheep	,, 6*d.* ,,	735	2,913
Total		1,370	4,866

As regards the kinds of corn grown, it has already been seen that the payments of the *nativi* included wheat, oats, and barley.

On the day when the record above mentioned was made the quantities of these three kinds of corn on hand were as follows:—

115 crannocs of wheat valued at 2*s.* 6*d.* per crannoc.
307 ,, oats ,, 2*s.* ,,
70 ,, barley ,, 1*s.* 4*d.* ,,
492 crannocs in all.

Oats the chief crop.

It is obvious, therefore, that oats were the chief crop on the Aberffraw manor in the fourteenth century.

The total value of the cattle and corn calculated at the above prices amounted to 188*l.*

Value of cattle and corn

It is most likely that for purposes of taxation the assessment would be made after harvest before the produce was consumed. Perhaps, therefore, it would be fair to take the total as representing the capital of the tenants in cattle and corn after harvest, and probably there would not be much other capital, for

[1] Cattle.

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representing the chief part of the tenant's capital.

otherwise the assessors would have taken care to include it in their valuation, the fifteenth of which was to be taken as the tax.

What proportion, then, did the value of the dues and services bear to the amount of their capital in cattle and corn thus ascertained?

Value of the tenants' dues and services.

The value of the dues and services of the tenants of the manor of Aberffraw, according to the Extent of 1294, roughly summarised, amounted to the following:—

	£	s.	d.
Money payments of free tenants	2	15	7
„ *villani*	1	9	2
Payments in kind by *villani*	6	17	4
Value of services in work by the *villani*	9	19	6
Total	£21	1	7

About one-ninth of the capital.

The amount of the annual dues and services was, therefore, about one-ninth of the capital of the tenants in cattle and corn.

This rough estimate, however, must only be taken for what it is worth. For it must be remembered that no distinction is made between different classes of tenants, and that these dues and services were only a part of the income of the Prince from his so-called manor.

Only a part of the Prince's income from the manor.

The following is a summary of the value of the manor in the Extent of 1294:—

	£	s.	d.
5 carucates of land in the *maerdref* and demesne	7	10	0
The three mills produced 60 crannocs	6	0	0
The fisheries	0	15	4
Value of pasture	1	0	0
Perquisites of the Court	2	0	0
	£17	5	4
Dues and services of tenants	21	1	7
	£38	6	11

Adding to this sum the revenue of the Prince from the rest of the cantref in which his royal residence was placed—viz. 65*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, towards which free tenants contributed rather more largely than the *nativi*, the total revenue of the Prince from the cantref amounted to 104*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* The amount annually received from the three cantrefs of Anglesey was 483*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*

Total revenue from the cantref, and from the whole of Anglesey.

VIII. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE ANGLESEY EXTENTS.

The evidence of the extents of Anglesey taken alone may be summarised as follows :—

The Prince of North Wales had rights, which may be termed *Royal* rights, of progress, &c., for himself and his retinue, chief falconer, &c., over the cymwds and cantrefs of the whole of Anglesey, except in those cases in which portions may have been handed over by him or his ancestors to religious uses.

The Prince's rights of progress, &c.

The Prince had his own particular so-called manor, with its palace, courts, and demesne land. His home farm or *maerdref*, was worked by the so-called villein tenants of Aberffraw living close by his palace.

His 'manor.'

There were free tenants—some of them free by reason of their office, others free tribesmen settled on the estate—from whom he had money rents in lieu of the old food rents and services.

Free tenants.

There were also groups of villein tenants on outlying parts of the manor holding in *trefgevery* like those of the *maerdref*.

Villein tenants.

Scattered over the two cymwds of the cantref, were hamlets of free tenants, and other hamlets of villein

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tenants, all contributing rents and services, and the latter supplying provisions and day-works. The villein hamlets were apparently held, as a rule, in *trefgevery*.

A 'manor' in each cymwd, with its courts.

In each of the other cantrefs or cymwds there was also a so-called manor, with its courts, forming a centre for legal proceedings, as well as for the performance of services and payment of dues. And all the *villæ* or hamlets within the cantref were under the jurisdiction of its courts, excepting those under ecclesiastical exemption from secular services. But it does not appear from the Extents that there were usually outlying hamlets specially annexed to these manors, as in the case of the Prince's own manor of Aberffraw.

Each cymwd or cantref was thus an organised geographical and judicial unit, and where the Prince himself did not occupy the palace, or use it as a hunting lodge in his annual progress, it was probably occupied by a subordinate chieftain; but on this point, as all the rights of the chieftains were transferred in lump to the Prince of Wales, the Extents naturally throw little light.

Services not personal, but attached to the holdings.

Lastly a remarkable feature, prominent throughout the Extents, is the emphatic way in which the dues and services of both free and villein hamlets were regarded, not as personal services, but as attached to particular holdings or hamlets, so that they remained untouched either by the confiscations on the conquest or by the depopulation of the Black Death, and continued exactly the same for centuries after the conquest, till they came to be regarded as permanent quit rents, some of which are still col-

lected by the collectors of the Crown revenues under the Department of the 'Woods and Forests.'

They remain unaltered by the conquest.

It may be added that the distinction between the free and villein hamlets was so deep and so marked that it was retained long after the conquest, and even long after the services of the bond hamlets had become commuted into fixed money rents. Even now, in the annual returns made to the 'Woods and Forests,' in some cases the rents of two classes of holdings, conjecturally, of the free and bond holdings of a district, are not only returned in separate lists, but even collected by officers with different names, the presumably free rents being collected and accounted for by a '*beadle*' and the others by a '*prepositus*'; the latter being possibly the successor of the *land maer* of the Welsh codes, in the Latin version of which the word is translated *prepositus*.[1]

[1] I have to thank Mr. Russell Sowray, late of the 'Woods and Forests,' for this information. The return of 1892, from the Manor or Lordship of Harminiog, in Cardiganshire, is an instance of this.

CHAPTER II.

THE DENBIGH EXTENT OF 8 EDWARD III. THE WELES AND GAVELLS OF TRIBESMEN.

I. THE VALUE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT.

CHAP. II. BEFORE proceeding to the direct evidence of the Codes and legal treatises—some of them of doubtful dates and authority—it is worth while to examine whether some further facts may not be obtained from the Extents as regards the structure of the tribe itself and the relation of the tribe and its kindreds to the land.

Further evidence required.

The Anglesey Extents have given a pretty clear view of the scattered hamlets, some of them occupied by free tribesmen and others by so-called *villani* or *nativi*. They have naturally disclosed the relations of both classes of tenants to the chieftains, and the geographical arrangement of the hamlets in cymwds and cantrefs, rather than the internal structure of the tribe itself.

They have, indeed, disclosed that the free hamlets were occupied by *weles* and *gavells*—whatever these may have been—and that their 'heredes' were so and so, but we have yet to learn what a *wele* was

and what a *gavell* was, and in what relation each of them stood to the tribe or the kindreds of which it was composed.

Can this knowledge be obtained from the Extents? If it could, it might prove an invaluable key to the true understanding of the Codes.

What were the *weles* and *gavells*?

It is worth while, therefore, to examine whether the Extents afford actual examples from which may be discovered what the *weles* and *gavells* of the free tribesmen were.

The earliest Anglesey Extents are deficient in detail, and do not supply the information.

The 'Record of Carnarvon,' as we have seen, is much more ample in its details, but it has the great disadvantage of having been made not only after the conquest of Wales, but also after the 'Black Death.' That great pains were taken to fulfil the terms of the engagement that, with certain exceptions, the services of free tenants and other Welsh customs should remain unaltered by the conquest, has been abundantly shown. But the devastations of the Black Death were limited by no such condition, and may well have played havoc with tribal arrangements.

Moreover, the Anglesey and Carnarvonshire district was, we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, exceptionally *agricultural* in character, and may, therefore, have advanced, before as well as after the conquest, further than some other districts on the lines of approach to the manorial system.

What is required, therefore, is a survey of a pastoral district, in full detail, and made before the 'Black Death.'

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The Denbigh extent gives the required evidence.

The Extent of the Castle and Honour of Denbigh,[1] made in 8 Edward III., seems to be the only one which meets the requirements of the case. It was made before the 'Black Death.' It relates to a mainly pastoral district which continued to a large extent under the rules of ancient custom. It gives the name of every tenant, and has, moreover, distinct reference to the condition of things both before and after the final conquest of North Wales.

It is hardly possible to over-estimate the value of this Extent for the purpose in hand.

The annexed map will show at a glance the geographical conditions of the district.

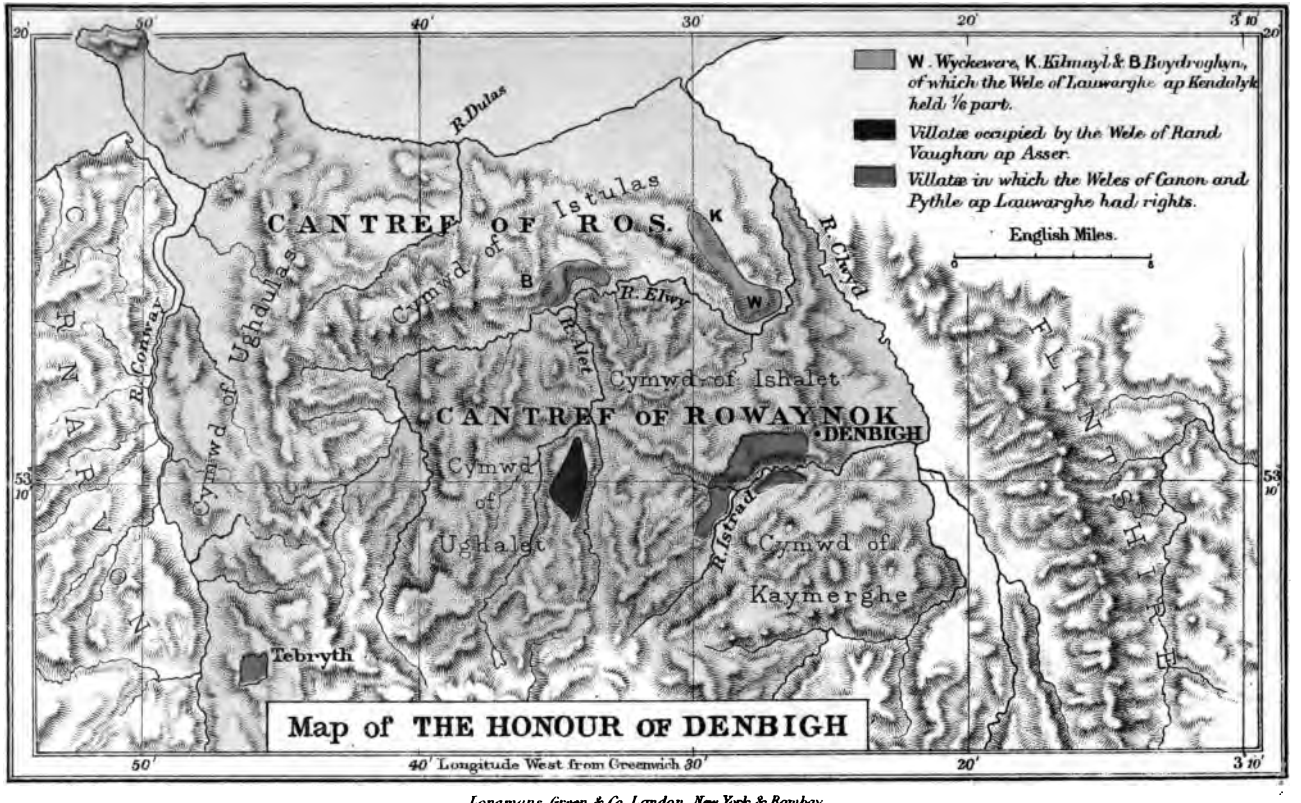
Broadly speaking, it is bounded by the mountains surrounding the valley of the *Clwyd*, with its tributaries the *Istrad* and the *Aled*, embracing also the valley of the *Dulas* which enters the sea independently.

The district included in the extent.

This district, like Anglesey, was divided into cantrefs, and each of its two cantrefs was divided into two cymwds. The cymwds took their names from the rivers. The cantref of *Rowaynok* contained the cymwds of the farther and hither[2] *Aled*—*Ughalet* and *Ishalet*—and the cantref of *Ros* contained the cymwds of the farther and hither *Dulas*—*Ughdulas* and *Istulas*.

[1] 'Extenta Castri et Honoris de Dynbeigh facta per Hugonem de Beckele et per recognitionem tenencium singularum villatarum anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum octavo.' Harleian MSS. 3682, B.M. A still older copy, if not the original, formerly belonging to Colonel Howard, of Wygfair, is now in my possession, as well as a careful transcription, for which I have to thank the patient labour of Mr. W. K. Boyd. There is an imperfect copy at the Land Revenue Record Office, No. 6 Whitehall.

[2] Literally 'above' and 'below.'



Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York & Bombay.

The *wele* a family group including great-grandsons;

Instead of the description of a holding of land with its boundaries we have here what is practically a pedigree, embracing the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk. The numerous successors of each of the grandsons were apparently not all of them great-grandsons at the date of the survey. There had been apparently some admission of outsiders among them, but the extent speaks of a time when such groups embraced *true heirs* only. (See App. p. 57.)

It will be seen that the whole kindred of the descendants of Lauwarghe to the fourth degree was, or had been, included in the *wele* bearing his name; the word *wele*, or *gwely*, as already hinted, meaning *bed*, and being accordingly translated by the Latin word *lectum*.

with sub-divisions into *weles* and *gavells*.

Lauwarghe himself was probably not alive, and therefore, presumably, the shares of the sons in the kindred were again called *weles*, and so also of the grandsons if by the death of their fathers they had become heads of households. But in cases where the parent was alive the sub-shares of children, according to the custom of gavelkind, were apparently not called *weles*, but *gavells*. At least, this is what the use of the terms seems to suggest as their meaning.

Thus, when we read that the villata of so-and-so consists of so many *weles*, the meaning seems to be, not that the land of the villata is divided into so many sections or estates, but that it is occupied by so many kindreds, or family groups. And when we read that the *wele* of so-and-so consists, or consisted when it was held *integre*, of so many *gavells*,

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we are to understand that it embraced so many subordinate families or sub-households of descendants.

The *wele* a division of the tribe, not of the land,

The *wele*, therefore, of the original ancestor is a division not of the land, but of the tribe, and it remains outwardly one unit, with internal subdivisions among sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons; and thus also the subdivisions of the *wele* are subdivisions of the family group and not of the land.

This being so, the next point arises, what may be the relation of the complex unit to the land? Where and how are the numerous progeny of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk located on land, and how are their possessions or rights described in the Extent?

The answer is that the *weles* of the *progenies* of the three sons of Lauwarghe are described as located in the *Villata de Wyckewere* with its two hamlets of *Boydroghyn* and *Kilmayl*. The *wele* of Lauwarghe originally, and when it was entire, occupied only one-sixth share of the whole villata, and so it did still, as described in the Extent, though now subdivided into the *weles* and *gavells* of his descendants.

holding an undivided share in the occupation of a district.

This original *wele* of the common ancestor of the great-grandchildren thus held, apparently, an undivided share in the occupation of the district, or villata. And so it did still, though now subdivided into the *weles* of the sons and the *gavells* of the grandsons, and each of the latter at the time of the Extent embraced a numerous community originally of great-grandsons only, but since the conquest not strictly confined to them.

Thus classified still under the original *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, a community of a score or two of kinsmen held together as one family group an undivided one-sixth part, or share, in the occupation of the villata of *Wyckewere* and its hamlets.

This joint occupation by so numerous a body of kinsmen would have been complicated enough had the kindred of Lauwarghe been the only occupants of the villata. But it was still more complicated by the fact that the other five-sixths were shared in the same way in undivided shares, some by *nativi*, and others by more or less related kindreds, whose ties of blood with the kindred of Lauwarghe and with each other are not disclosed.

The homesteads and crofts probably held in severalty.

It is, perhaps, needful to assume that the actual homesteads, and inclosures round them, may have been held more or less in severalty, but it seems to be clear that, with this exception, the *weles* or family groups occupied *undivided* shares in what may be called the common rights of the villata.

The escheats were of fractions of rights, not of land,

This is confirmed by the description of the escheats to the lord, after the conquest, which are carefully recorded. These escheats were not of particular fields or portions of land, but fractions of such and such a *wele*, and such and such a *gavell*. Thus, a fourth part of the *gavell* of one of the grandsons of Lauwarghe was escheat, and five-sixths of another, and so on, according as fewer or more of the kindred had died *contra pacem*, or had otherwise forfeited their rights.

The total of escheats to the lord within the villata was therefore an aggregate, not of definite actual areas or acres lying here and there, but of

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a series of undivided fractions, which, when put together, amounted to a considerable undivided share in the right of occupation in the whole villata; and so the only way in which an estimate of the lord's share in the villata could be arrived at by the surveyors was by working out the calculation as one of proportion, and then translating the result into acres, thus:—

	Acres
The Villata of Wyckewere contains in lands, woods, and wastes	1,072
The Hamlet of Kilmayl	160
The Hamlet of Boydroghyn of land, wood, and waste	1,340
Sum total	2,573
And therefore the share of escheats of the lord *by true proportion* will be	1,638
Of which are allocated to diverse *priodarii* of *Lewenny* and *Astred Canon* in exchange for their patrimonies in the said villæ, certain proportions of divers tenants in Wyckewere, who have died 'contra pacem,' whose proportions ought to contain 176 acres of land, wood, and waste	176
And so there are over of the shares of the lord .	1,462

The lord seems ultimately at a recent date to have taken not quite one-third of this estimated acreage into his own hands, in order to let it out in lots of a few acres each to tenants, many of them Englishmen, at money rents on the English system.

and so, therefore, were the *weles* and *gavells*.

But the point of importance is that if the escheats were undivided shares of common rights so must also have been the shares of the *weles* and *gavells*, of which the escheats were undivided fractions.

III. THE WELES OF CANON AP LAUWARGHE AND PYTHLE AP LAUWARGHE.

Passing now to another example, we find the *progenies* of apparently two other sons of Lauwarghe located in another cymwd. It is possible that they may be sons of another Lauwarghe, but it is hardly likely, as no distinguishing name is given in the Extent. They may therefore be offshoots from the original *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, but of this we cannot be sure.

The villata of *Prees*.

Their *progenies* are described in summary on the next page, and also those of the other kindreds sharing with them in the villata of *Prees*.

Following the *progenies* of each son separately a glimpse may perhaps be obtained of the way in which the family groups were located on land, and shifted according to tribal needs or arrangements.

The *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe were located in the valley of the *Istrad*, not only in the villata of *Prees*, but also in the two other villatæ of *Astred Canon* and *Nanthyn Canon*.

The *progenies* of Canon hold fractions of rights in several villatæ,

According to the Extents of these three villatæ the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe held one-sixth share in the villata of *Prees*, to which were appendant grazing rights in a great tract of mountain waste, common to the tenants of the whole lordship. The whole villata of *Prees* paid 20*s.* of *tunc*, and the undivided sixth share of the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe in it contributed 3*s.* 4*d.* to the *tunc pound*.

They were the same family group with similar internal divisions into gavells wherever they had

VILLATA OF PREES with its Hamlets; paying 20*s.* 0½*d.* tunc, held in VI. parts, each paying 3*s.* 4*d.*, viz.:—

I. Progenies of *Canon* ap Lauwarghe.	½	Gavell Lauwarghe Vaghan			in which are Ithel Loyt ap Cadugan and 2 others.
	½	Gavell Iorwerth	ap *Canon*	,,	Cadugan Bottum ap Ednon and 4 others.
	1	Gavell Iennaf	ap *Canon*	,,	Keñ Routh ap Iennaf ap Ririd and 8 others (7/8 escheat).
	1	Gavell Eignon	ap *Canon*	,,	Iennaf Loyd ap Gronou ap Cadugan and 9 others (¼ escheat)
	½	Gavell Meuric	ap *Canon*	,,	Madok ap Eignon ap Keñ and 13 others.
	½	Gavell Nynyat	ap *Canon*	,,	Madok ap David ap Eignon and 10 others (⅜ escheat).
	½	Gavell Kenewerth	ap *Canon*	,,	Escheat (and therefore not mentioned in the other villatæ held by the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe).
II. Progenies of *Pythle* ap Lauwarghe.	1	Wele Iorwerth	ap *Pythle*	,,	Escheat by death 'contra pacem.'
	1	Wele Ednowen	ap *Pythle*	,,	2 holders (3/10 escheat).
	1	Wele Ithon	ap *Pythle*	,,	1 holder (3/10 ,,)
	1	Wele Kennyngh	ap *Pythle*	,,	7 holders (3/10 ,,)
	1	Wele Cadugan	ap *Pythle*	,,	4 ,, (3/10 ,,)
	1	Wele Ednon	ap *Pythle*	,,	2 ,, (3/10 ,,)
	1	Wele Rissard	ap *Pythle*	,,	1 holder (3/10 ,,)
	1	Wele Genythlyn	ap *Pythle*	,,	3 holders (3/10 ,,)
III. Progenies of *Runon* ap Cadugan ap Ostrouth.	1	Wele Kefuenerth	ap *Runon*	,,	3 holders (¾ escheat).
	1	Wele Tegwaret	ap *Runon*	,,	3 holders (held whole).
	1	Wele Iorwerth	ap *Runon*	,,	2 ,, ,,
	1	Wele Gronon	ap *Runon*	,,	Escheat.
	1	Wele Yarthur	ap *Runon*	,,	2 holders and Magr. Hospitalis St. Johannis del Specii.
IV. Progenies of *Tenyth* ap Kendalo ap Cadugan.	1	Gavell Heilin	ap *Tenyth*	,,	13 holders.
	1	Gavell Elyder	ap *Tenyth*	,,	11 ,, (⅛ escheat).
V. Progenies of *Ithel* ap Cadugan ap Ostrouth.	2½	Gavells Lauwarghe	ap *Ithel*	,,	4 holders (1 gavell escheat).
	2½	Gavells Ednon	ap *Ithel*	,,	1 holder (2 1/10 gavells escheat).
	2	Gavells Gilbert	ap *Ithel*	,,	15 holders (1 gavell escheat).

VI. Sundry *free* weles and several in hands of *nativi*.

rights of occupation, and so it was not necessary, according to the Extent, to inscribe all the names of the grandsons of Canon ap Lauwarghe in the survey of *Prees*, because they were already recorded at length under the heading of *Astred Canon*. Excepting their share of the *tunc* of *Prees* they did no other services at *Prees*. Their services of *pastus* &c. were recorded under the head of *Astred Canon* and rendered there only. But, besides their services, they originally paid 10*s*. of *tunc* in *Astred Canon*.

with the same subdivisions wherever they hold.

They also held as a family group, with the same internal divisions, the villata of *Nanthyn Canon* with its hamlet of *Pennankyng*, but in this they owed neither services nor *tunc*, because it was reckoned as appurtenant to *Astred Canon*.

The *progenies* of Pythle ap Lauwarghe, who were also located in *Prees*, were divided into the eight *weles* of his eight sons, and held as one family group one-sixth share in the occupation of the villata side by side with the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe and other kindreds, paying their due proportion of *tunc*; but instead of having a second and a third location in *Astred* and *Nanthyn* they had a second location in the distant villata of *Tebrith* and its hamlets in the cymwd of *Ros Uchdulas*, south of Llanrwst, in the extent of which villata their names were recorded over again in detail.

So also the *progenies* of Pythle.

But the *wele* of one son described as escheat in *Prees* is omitted altogether in *Tebrith*. The *weles* of two other sons are omitted for some reason or other undisclosed, and the *weles* of the five remaining sons are therefore the only ones recorded

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in *Tebrith*. The entry in Tebrith also contains the statement that 'all the tenants in the said villata and hamlets are free *priodarii* and not *nativi*, and they are called *wyrion Pythle*' (*i.e.* grandsons of Pythle).

The *progenies* of Pythle like their kinsmen, the *progenies* of Canon, paid their contributions of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the *tunc pound* of *Prees*. At the same time they paid 20*s.*, *i.e.* the whole *tunc pound*, at *Tebrith*, where they had the whole villata to themselves, and also paid services.

The escheats again are of fractions of rights.

Turning, as before, to the escheats, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{18}$ part of the gavell of one of the sons of Canon, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gavell of another son, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gavell of another son were escheat to the lord in the villata of *Prees*. The whole *wele* of one of the sons of Pythle, who died *contra pacem*, and $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the *weles* of the other seven sons of Pythle were escheat, so that in these cases also the escheated shares were fractional proportions of the undivided rights of the family group.

Thus the conclusion is arrived at that the *gavells* of the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe were undivided shares of rights in the several village communities of *Astred Canon*, *Nanthyn Canon*, and *Prees*, and the *weles* of the *progenies* of Pythle ap Lauwarghe undivided shares of rights in the villata of *Prees* and the distant villata of *Tebrith*. No doubt, as already stated, the kinsmen of each family group may have had the separate use of homesteads and crofts, but with this exception, if the words *wele* and *gavell* may be transferred at all from the family group to the holdings, they were substantially to all appearances bundles of undivided shares or

The *weles* and *gavells* bundles of undivided rights.

rights of co-aration and pasture in the several villatæ.

Other examples.

Nor are these solitary instances. Three of the other sixths of the villata of *Prees* are respectively in the hands of the *progenies* of the three sons (or rather two sons and a grandson) of Cadugan ap Ostrouth.

The first of the sixths was held in five *weles* by the five sons of Runon ap Cadugan and besides this sixth of *Prees* they paid *pastus* to the Prince in the villata of *Garth Kanannel* in the cymwd of Ros Uchdulas.

The second of these three was held by the *progenies* of Tenyth ap Kendalo ap Cadugan, and besides this sixth of *Prees* they paid *tunc* and did services for what they held in the villatæ of *Carueduenuth*, *Penporghethl*, and *Dyncaduell*.

The third of the three sixths was held by the *progenies* of Ithel ap Cadugan, and they also had rights in *Carueduenuth* and originally in *Dyncaduell* also.

IV. THE WELE OF RAND' VAGHAN AP ASSER.

Example of a *wele* holding rights of occupation of several whole villatæ and fractions of others.

The foregoing examples have sufficiently illustrated the position of *weles* of kinsmen located, along with others, in a single villata, or holding fractional rights in several villatæ. It may be well to add yet another example showing how in some cases a kindred could occupy exclusively several whole villatæ as well as fractions of others. The following will answer the purpose. The entry in the survey is as under :—

> 'Be it known that there is a certain *progenies* of free tenants in this cymwd (of *Ughalet*), which is called the "progenies of *Rand' Vaghan ap Asser*," which said progenies hold in diverse

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villæ of the cymwd, and held in the time of the Princes before the conquest, viz.:—

The whole villata of *Dennant.*
The whole villata of *Grugor.*
The whole villata of *Guylberyñ.*
The whole villata of *Penglogor.*
The whole villata of *Pennaualet.*
Half of the villata of *Hendreuenuyth.*
One third of the villata of *Prestelegot.*
One thirteenth part of the villata of *Petrual.*

And all these said villatæ and parts of villatæ they held in 4 lecta, viz.:—

Wele Ruathlon ap Rand'.
Wele Idenerth ap Rand'.
Wele Daniel ap Rand'.
Wele Kewret ap Rand'.

And there will follow concerning the proportion of tenure and services of every *wele* and of every one of its *gavells* in each of the several villatæ *seriatim* by itself.'

The *wele* or *progenies* of Rand' ap Asser was thus subdivided into *weles* of sons, and each of these again were divided into *gavells* of grandsons according to the annexed statement. The family group in the eye of the surveyors had become divided into groups of grandsons, and they are described as the *priodarii* holding the original *lectum* called *wele wyrion Rand'* —*i.e.* the *wele* of the grandsons of Rand', and wherever they hold, whether whole villatæ or fractions of villatæ, the original *lectum* or family group is subdivided precisely in the same manner into the same *weles* and *gavells* of the sons and grandsons of Rand'. But, again, the subdivisions of the kindred did not imply any actual divisions in the land.

The *priodarii* of this *wele* did all their services in the villata of *Dennant*, and paid their proper propor-

tions of *tunc* in every villata in which they had rights. CHAP. II.

Wele Rand' Vaghan ap Asser	Wele *Ruathlon* ap Rand'	Gavell Guyon ap *Ruathlon*	5 holders.	
		Gavell Bleth ap *Ruathlon*		
		Gavell Kewret ap *Ruathlon*	1 holder.	
		Gavell Madok ap *Ruathlon*	5 holders.	
	Wele *Idenerth'* ap Rand'	Gavell Iorwerth ap *Ienerth'*	3 holders.	
		Gavell Madok ap *Idenerth'*	4 holders	$\frac{1}{8}$ esch.
		Gavell Allot' ap *Idenerth'*	4 „	$\frac{3}{4}$ „
		Gavell Tegwaret ap *Idenerth'*	1 „	$\frac{1}{3}$ „
	Wele *Daniel* ap Rand'	Gavell Eignon ap *Dariel* (sic)	12 holders	$\frac{7}{64}$ esch.
		Gavell Cadugan ap *Danyel* (sic)	8 „	$\frac{5}{8}$ „
	Wele *Kewret* ap Rand'	Gavell Grifro ap *Kewret*	escheat.	
		Gavell Kenewrek ap *Kewret*	3 holders.	$\frac{1}{8}$ esch.

V. THE SHIFTING IN THE LOCATION OF THE KINDREDS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

Lastly, some additional light as to tribal methods of distribution may perhaps be got from what happened after the conquest.

Vacancies by escheat in one villata filled up by exchange from other villatæ.

There had been escheats, *e.g.* in *Wyckwere*, owing to the death of tenants *contra pacem*. These escheats threw into the lord's hands the vacant proportions. Henry de Lacy's policy was to extend into the neighbourhood of the Castle of Denbigh the English three-field system of husbandry. Already in neighbouring parishes (*Llanriadr* and others) the three-field system was at work with its plough-teams

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and bovates on the English fashion.[1] To accomplish his object and make for himself an English manor, he excluded the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe from *Astred Canon* and gave them exactly corresponding rights in *Wyckwere* by way of exchange. And he acted in the same way in the villata of *Llewenny*.

When it is considered how complex were the rights of the tribesmen *inter se* in these cases, and yet how easily the exchanges were made, it becomes clear that the complexity lay in the structure of the kindreds and not in the facts of the husbandry.

These exchanges easily made,

The cattle and the ploughs of a kindred could be moved with ease from one part of the country to another, and some of them placed in one villata and some in another, even in different cymwds and cantrefs, without interfering with the intricate family rights of the members of the kindred *inter se*, which easily followed the cattle and the ploughs wherever for the time they might be.

and so might have been under the tribal system.

And thus these shiftings and redistributions of the kindreds on the land after the conquest may illustrate the ease with which the chiefs of kindred could move the kindreds and families about under the tribal system whenever changes in population might require it. But they do more than this. They give point and clearness to the conception of the landholding kindreds, each holding together as one family unit with its own tribal rights as against

[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 112 and pp. 109–110. The Villa of *Llanreadur* was held by 4 groups of tenants, which each held 4 bovates, *i.e.* half the full plough team. And *Llech* by 4 groups, each with 8 bovates or full plough teams. *Llandulas* was held by 3 groups, each with 12 bovates.

other kindreds in this villata or that, and sometimes even in different cymwds. They oblige us to picture them as communities of graziers of cattle with rights of grazing by tribal right or tribal arrangement in different parts of the district, each community, with, it may be, its score or two of kinsmen, forming a complex unit, one in its relations to the other kindreds, but nevertheless with intricate internal hereditary and family divisions and rights known intimately, doubtless, to the elders of the kindred, but far too intricate to be of interest to the makers of the Extent.

The kindreds family groups of graziers.

One point of importance may, however, be gathered from the Extent as regards the family rights of these groups of kinsmen.

It will have been noticed that in all the cases cited the kindred seems to have stopped with the great-grandsons of the common ancestor, of whose *wele* they held their undivided shares or gavells.

The group went no further than great-grandsons.

The following passage from the Extent seems to explain this:—

> A son of a free *priodaur* after the death of his father shall give to the lord for his *relief*, before he possesses his inheritance, 10*s*.
>
> A brother or nephew or cousin within the 3rd grade, and in the 3rd grade, shall give for his *relief*, after the death of his antecedent, before he obtains his inheritance, 20*s*.
>
> Beyond the 3rd grade there is no right of inheritance amongst them, but the land shall be escheat to the lord for default of heirs.[1]

The importance of this rule in the tribal system will become apparent when the evidence of the Codes is examined.

And turning from the groups of kinsmen to the

[1] See Appendix B. h and i.

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The villatæ were units of occupation.

geographical areas or land-units, called in the surveys *villatæ*, in which they had rights—sometimes sole and exclusive, but more often concurrent with other similar groups in fractional shares—we are forced to consider the *villata* rather as a unit of husbandry and of the grazing of so many cattle than as a 'village community' of the English type.

The numerous *progenies* of Canon or Pythle ap Lauwarghe obviously cannot all live in every villata in which they have rights and in which their cattle are placed to graze. Where, then, are the homesteads? In which of the villatæ?

It is when we are forced by the surveys to ask such questions as these that we fully appreciate the value of the description of Welsh habits in the twelfth century by *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

The homesteads easily built and removed.

His statement becomes very significant that the houses of the Welsh tribesmen were not built either in towns or even in villages, but scattered along the edges of the woods. Quite as important is the remark that to his eye they seemed mere huts made of boughs of trees twisted together, easily constructed, and lasting scarcely more than a season. They consisted, he says, of one room, and the whole family, guests and all, slept on rushes laid along the wall with their feet to the fire, the smoke of which found its way through a hole in the roof.[1]

Summer and winter homesteads.

The Welsh tribesmen, in fact, like other pastoral people, had two sets of homesteads. In summer

[1] *Descr. Wall.* I. ch. x. and ch. xvii. The peasants of the villages on the south coast of the Isle of Áchill, even to the present day, have duplicate cabins in the summer village on the higher slope of the mountain, the whole of this village being unoccupied in winter.

their herds fed on the higher ranges of the hills and in winter in the valleys. So they themselves, following their cattle, had separate huts for summer and winter use, very much as was also the custom in the Highlands of Scotland and is still the case in the higher Alpine valleys.

The kindreds and their herd the movable element in tribal life. The villatæ the fixed units.

Dispelling, therefore, from the word *villata* all ideas which hover around its use as the equivalent of the 'village community,' the picture given by the Extent, taken together with the information of Giraldus Cambrensis, of the scattered pastoral life of the groups of kinsmen becomes much more intelligible. The geographical units called *villatæ* are evidently the fixed and permanent units. The groups of kinsmen and their herds of cattle are the movable elements in pastoral life under tribal arrangements; and the complexity of rights within the kindred, whilst subject probably to inflexible tribal rules fixed by immemorial custom, follow the kindreds wherever they go and however much they may be scattered.

The meaning and significance of these tribal arrangements can only be fully appreciated when the descriptions given of the structure of tribal society in the Codes and other legal traditions have been studied. But, on the other hand, it will be readily admitted that we should have approached their study at great disadvantage had the previous examination of the actual examples of *weles* and *gavells*, furnished by the Denbigh Extent, been omitted.

VI. THE GWELY IN SOUTH WALES. EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF ST. DAVID'S. A.D. 1326.

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Now that it is known what the *weles* of the tribesmen were, the question arises over how wide an area mention of them is found in the Extents.

Weles prevalent throughout North Wales.

They were not confined to Denbighshire. The Extents contained in 'The Record of Carnarvon' testify to their prevalence throughout Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Merionethshire. The addition of Denbigh nearly completes the number of modern counties included in the district conquered by Edward I., and dealt with by the Statute of Rothelan. This district is that to which the Venedotian Code mainly applied. There is corresponding evidence for South Wales though not of so full and complete a character.

Extent of the lands of St. David's.

The lands of the Bishop of St. David's were scattered over three or four counties, and an Extent was made of them in the year 1326,[1] which though not nearly so rich in details as that of Denbigh, gives, nevertheless, valuable evidence.

The Extent shows that English influences had long been at work in South Wales and especially in Pembrokeshire. The prevalence of carucates and bovates in the scattered agricultural hamlets of Pembrokeshire and other counties indicates that in many districts the tribal system had given way to settled agriculture and English methods. But in

[1] British Museum *Additional MSS.* No. 34135 :—'Extenta omnium terrarum et reddituum domini episcopi Menevensis facta per magistrum David Fraunceys Cancellarium Menevensem tempore venerabilis patris domini David Martyn, Dei gracia episcopi loci. Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^mo vicesimo sexto.' See Appendix C. [Since printed in the Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 5, edited by J. W. Willis-Bund.]

the districts through which the Rivers *Towy* and *Teifi* flow in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, the Extent discloses interesting survivals of tribal holdings of the same type as those of Denbighshire, though not described with the same completeness of detail.

Thus at *Keuendeneuyth*, in Carmarthenshire [1] :— *Gweles* of the stirps of so-and-so, in Carmarthenshire.

> 'They (the jurors) say that there are there four *lecti*, commonly called *gwele*, and of the first *gwele* is the stirps (*stipes*) of Gruff. ap Gilbert, and of the second *gwele* is the stirps of Isac ap Ithua, and of the third *gwele* is the stirps of Gronou ap Graylwyn, and of the fourth *gwele* is the stirps of Cadogan ap Donandwr, and each *gwele* renders to the lord 2*s.* by the year at Michaelmas.'

At *Henllan*,[2] in Cardiganshire, there was one *lectus* of which three persons named and their co-portioners were tenants. And at *Bangor* [3] there were four *lecti*, three of them being called *Gwely Oyrion so and so*, *i.e.* of the *grandsons* of the original holder. *Lecti* in Cardiganshire.

In the villa of *Landewybreuy*,[4] the lord had a house, and in what is called the '*Patria de Landewybreuy*,' there were, according to the jurors, eight *lecti qui vocantur Gwely*, and of each of these eight *lecti* it is stated that there are such and such persons (in all cases but one, three are named), and descendants from them (*descendentes ab eisdem*). And it is added 'all the aforesaid hold *per antiquam tenuram*, viz. *per ach et Edriđ*'; *i.e.* 'by kin and descent,' the Welsh words used for this phrase in the Dimetian Code being '*o ach ac etryt*.' [5] *Gwelys* of three persons and their descendants holding by ancient tenure of 'kin and descent.'

In *Garthely* [6] there was only one *lectus vocatus*

[1] Fol. 41 (p. 237).
[2] Fol. 36D (p. 215).
[3] Fol. 37 (p. 215).
[4] *Llandewybrevi.* Fol. 33, 34 (p. 201).
[5] *D.C.* I. xxx. *Leges Wallice*, '*per hach et edrŷt*,' II. viii. 49.
[6] Fol. 35 (p. 205).

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Gwely, and this again was of three persons named *et descendentes ab eisdem.*

In *Llannon*,[1] there was only one *lectus*, and this also was of three persons *cum sequela et descendentibus ab eisdem.*

Gweles in Brecon-shire,

In *Glascoñ* in the Archdeaconry of Brecon there were three *lecti qui vulgo vocantur Gwele.* And each was that of a *stirps* and descendants from it.[2]

and in Gower.

The Bishop of St. David's also had land at *Landewy* and *Langevelach*, in Gower, in Glamorganshire. In the latter place there were recorded under the head 'Liberi' seven *lecti qui vulgo vocantur Gwele.*[3]

This evidence of the Extent of St. David's, therefore, extends the mention of these holdings to four counties of South Wales, and there is no reason to suppose that the same system was not once prevalent in other districts of which there do not happen to be surveys.

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[1] Fol. 36 (p. 211).
[2] Fol. 52 (p. 291).
[3] Fol. 51 (p. 287). And see *Cambrian Archæological Association*, The Lordship of Gower, part ii. p. 192.

[NOTE.—When the above was written I had not had the advantage of Mr. Willis-Bund's 'Introduction' to his valuable edition of this (so-called) *Black Book of Saint David's.*]

CHAPTER III.

THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY.

I. NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE CODES AND TRADITIONS.

PASSING now from the firm ground of the surveys to the more debatable ground of the Codes and the legal traditions classed together in the second division of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' it is necessary at once to disclaim any attempt to settle or even adequately to criticise the dates or authority of the several MSS. or of the traditions out of which they may have sprung.

The facts of the surveys the result of tribal custom.

The surveys have made it clear that upon the conquest of North Wales there was existent, and inextricably interwoven into Welsh polity, a mass of tribal custom which even Norman phraseology and classification could neither force into ordinary manorial grooves nor ignore. And it would be idle to dream that a body of custom of this kind could have been of recent or rapid growth. Rather must it be regarded as an axiom in economic history that a condition of rural polity such as the surveys disclose could not be other than the result of traditional

CHAP. III. and immemorial usage. And when it is considered how tenacious and stubborn was the Welsh adherence to custom, that even long generations of Christian or ecclesiastical influence had failed to Christianise the tribal law of marriage; that (according to the Venedotian Code) 'the law of the Emperor and the law of the Church' combined could not force Howell the Good to alter tribal custom so far as to disinherit illegitimate sons; and that even Edward I. on the final conquest could not force upon the Welsh tribesmen the law of primogeniture—when this continuity of stubborn tribal habit is considered, it becomes clear that it must have been ingrained in the very structure of tribal society.

Welsh tribal custom survived into the era of codes and surveys.

Instead, then, of entering into critical examination of the dates of MSS. and the authority of the so-called 'Triads' and other legal traditions—which must be left to the labours of the Celtic scholar—and instead of being tempted to exaggerate the antiquity of the evidence, the wiser course in this practical inquiry will be fully to realise that the value of the evidence of Welsh tribal life does not lie in its antiquity. It rather lies in its being the latest and most modern instance in Western Europe of a tribal system which, having held its own till the era of codes and surveys, is unique in the fact that it can be examined in a way no other tribal system of Western Europe can be, excepting, perhaps, that of Ireland.

There is, however, one direct link between the surveys and the Codes which is worth mentioning.

In the Statute of Rothelan (A.D. 1284—*i.e.* fifty years before the date of the Denbigh Extent of

A.D. 1335) it is stated that upon the final conquest of North Wales, Edward I., 'wishing that his newly acquired Welsh lands should be governed under proper laws, to the honour of God, and that those just received under his rule should be dealt with by fixed laws and customs under his peace . . . caused the laws and customs of those parts hitherto used, to be recited before him and the nobles of his realm, the which having been diligently heard and fully understood, certain of them by counsel of the said nobles were annulled, certain were permitted, and certain were corrected, and also certain others were ordained to be added and enacted.'

The Venedotian Code read over to the King and nobles at Rhuddlan, before the surveys were made.

Now, there is, in the British Museum,[1] a MS. of the Venedotian Code, not by any means the earliest MS. of it still extant, which at the end has a note mentioning Anianus, the Bishop of St. Asaph, who was probably one of the nobles before whom the Welsh laws and customs were recited. And it may well be one of the copies of the Code used before the King and his nobles at Rhuddlan.

The Codes and surveys give mutual support to each other.

The wiser course, therefore, will be to rely chiefly on the mutual support given to each other by the Codes and the surveys. The facts of the surveys are sure. If the Codes contain a body of customary law which in natural course would produce the condition of things described by the surveys, their authenticity will be substantially confirmed. And, again, if the legal traditions of more doubtful date and origin supply reasons, in tribal sentiment or in more or less archaic details of custom, for the legal

[1] Cott. *Titus*, D. ii.

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rules of the Codes, they themselves become evidence which cannot be wholly ignored.

It cannot be doubted that they throw valuable light of this kind, and all we can do is to use discrimination and not to rely too exclusively upon them in cases where they stand alone or seem to contravene better evidence with a suspiciously unhistoric motive.

The reader will readily discriminate between the different sources of evidence quoted from the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' references to the Codes being so stated, whilst those to the other miscellaneous documents and the Latin versions of the Codes are cited under the heading 'Welsh Laws.'

II. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TRIBESMEN AND NON-TRIBESMEN PRIMARILY ONE OF BLOOD.

Tribesmen and non-tribesmen.

At first sight there is great confusion in the classes of men mentioned in the Codes and Welsh laws—of tribesmen, *uchelwrs*, *breyrs*, and *innate bon-eddigs*; of *non*-tribesmen, *taeogs*, *aillts*, *alltuds*, &c. The confusion vanishes only when the principle is grasped underlying the constitution of tribal society. And this principle would apparently be a very simple one if it could be freed from the complications of conquest and permanent settlement on land and from the consequent inroads of foreign law, custom, and nomenclature.

To begin with, there can be little doubt that the ruling principle underlying the structure of tribal society was that of blood relationship among the free

tribesmen. No one who did not belong to a kindred could be a member of the tribe, which was, in fact, a bundle of Welsh kindreds. Broadly, then, under the Welsh tribal system there were two great classes, those of Cymric blood and those who were strangers in blood. There was a deep, if not impassable, gulf between these two classes quite apart from any question of land or of conquest. It was a division in blood. And it soon becomes apparent that the tenacity with which the distinction was maintained was at once one of the strong distinctive marks of the tribal system and one of the main secrets of its strength. There were, indeed, if we may believe later tradition, in South Wales at least, bridges across the gulf, but they were such as to emphasise the hard fact of its existence and to prove not only its breadth but its permanence.

The distinction one of blood.

Two of these bridges may be alluded to at once by way of illustration:

In S. Wales strangers become Cymry at ninth generation,

(1) Residence in Cymru, according to the traditions of S. Wales, made the descendant of a stranger at last a Cymro, but not until continued to *the ninth generation*.[1]

or by intermarriage at fourth.

(2) Intermarriage with innate Cymraeses generation after generation made the descendant of a stranger an innate Cymro in the *fourth* generation. In other words, the original stranger's great-grandson, whose blood was at last seven-eighths Cymric, was allowed to attain the right to claim the privileges of a tribesman.[2]

Such being the width of the gulf which divided

[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 66. [2] *Id.* 67.

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the stranger in blood from the free-born Cymro, the next point to be noticed at the outset is the nature of the disabilities which resulted from the want of tribal blood.

Disabilities of strangers in blood.

It is remarkable that these disabilities were apparently not so much the subjection to severer services and dues, as the natural results of the want of the blood-ties which bound tribesmen together into so tightly moulded a community.

The evidence of a stranger in blood was of no worth against a Cymro.[1]

Whilst every tribesman, head of a household, must have his 'sword and spear and bow, with twelve arrows in the quiver' always ready at a moment's notice, weapons were not allowed to any stranger or *aillt* until the third descent.[2] And neither horsemanship nor hunting were free to any but an innate Cymro.[3]

Without his lord's consent the *taeog* was to be neither a scholar, a smith, nor a bard.[4] But if the lord were passive till he were tonsured as a scholar, or till he had set up a smithy of his own, or till he had graduated in song as a bard, he was free.[5]

The reason for them.

The traditional reason for these disabilities, given in the *Triads*, was to keep the stranger class unorganised and weak; 'to guard against treachery and ambush'; 'to prevent the plotting of strangers and their adherents, lest *alltuds* (*i.e.* strangers) obtain the lands of the innate Cymry.'[6]

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[1] *V.C.* II. xi. 24.
[2] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 222.
[3] *Id.* 79.
[4] *V.C.* I. xliii. 11.
[5] *D.C.* II. viii. 7.
[6] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 67.

These explanations are naturally not given in the Codes, but on such a point even a later tradition is not without value.

Lastly, there were special and exceptional cases in which kinship was allowed to the stranger in blood—exceptions which prove the rule, because they rested upon the hypothesis that an artificial tie of blood had been formed which might fairly be considered as strong as the natural tie.

Examples of artificial kinship.

The following typical examples are taken from a MS. of additional laws of about A.D. 1400.[1] Whether ancient tradition or indicating later relaxation of the strictness of tribal rules, they are equally instructive :—

> If a person be killed and his kindred shall not obtain right, and his kinsmen proceed to avenge their kin, and they deem their number small, and if a stranger come and proceed along with them upon the *privilege of kin* (*ar vreint car*), saying 'I will go along with you to avenge your kin (*car*), and will take upon myself the slaughter and blood of him whom ye also shall take upon yourselves,' and they kill one or more, on account of their kin (*kar*), such stranger obtains the privilege of kin (*ar vreint kar*).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> If his travelling companion sees his enemies and says to him 'See'st thou? See'st thou yonder men who will have me? and since there is no kin (*kar*) with me they will have me cheap!' says his stranger companion, 'I will fight along with thee, and I will take upon myself the blood of such as thou shalt take upon thyself,' and he escape because of that, that stranger acquires the privilege of a kin (*kar*) to him.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> If a person be condemned to lawful wager of battle, either for land and soil, or for any crime, and he should dread in his heart entering into personal combat, and a stranger should arise and say to him, 'I will go in thy stead to combat,' and he should escape thereby, such stranger acquires the privilege of a brother to him, or nephew, the son of a sister (*nei vab chwaer*) to receive galanas, or to pay it for him.

[1] *W.L.* X. ii.

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The kin-shattered person.

Now, in all these cases the word for kin is *car* or *kar*, and so, in the reverse case of a tribesman losing or forfeiting the privilege of kin, he became a *car-shattered* or *kin-wrecked* person—a person who had broken his kin and put himself for a time or in part into the position of a stranger in blood.[1]

It would seem as though the tie of kin was a tie of nature, too strong to be broken for ever, except in extreme cases. In one sense, 'once a kinsman, always a kinsman.'

The following is from the Gwentian Code :—

> Three persons hated by a kindred: a thief, and a deceiver, and a person who shall kill another of his own kindred; since the living kin (*car*) is not killed for the sake of the dead kin (*car*) everybody will hate to see him.[2]

Such a criminal as the last-mentioned, whose crime, being within his own kindred, was outside the law of *galanas* or 'blood-fine,' could not be slain. He might, however, with the consent of his kindred, relinquish the privilege of kinship. In such a case,

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[1] The *car-shattered* person has been hitherto considered as a *waggon-shattered* person; but as to the word *car* compare *kerennyd* = relationship (*Venedotian Code*, III. i. 11 and III. i. 16), *kar* and *car* = relative (*Gwentian Code*, II. xxxvii. 2, and xxxix. 11 and 14), *karant* = relations (*id.*). And (*W.L.* XIV. xvii.) under the head *Am Geraint* = of relations, are the three following paragraphs, which clearly prove that the *car* of the car-shattered person was his *kinship*, and not his waggon :—

'There are three kinds of relatives (*car*) on the side of the father, among whom land is shared: a brother, a cousin, and a second cousin.

'Three relations (*tri char*) on the side of the mother who share land with their relatives (*ac eu car*): an uncle, the mother's brother, a mother's cousin, and a cousin to himself, where a person shall obtain land by maternity.

'There are three car-shattered persons (*tri char llywedroc*): son of an alltud by a Cymraes; a taeog accepted into the service of a person; and a wealthy person by inheritance on the land of another.'

[2] II. xxxix. 54.

he became a kin-wrecked man, but the rights of the descendants of such a person, including their rights of inheritance in the tribe, were protected for nine generations—'till the ninth man.'

Thus, according to the Venedotian Code :—

> If the ninth man come to claim land his title is extinguished, and that person is to raise an outcry that from being a proprietor (*priodawr*) he is becoming a non-proprietor, and then the law listens to that outcry, and assigns to him a shelter [or a free tribesman's *kyfran* or portion], and that outcry is called 'an outcry *over the abyss*.' [1]

What is this terrible 'cry over the abyss' but the last despairing cry of a kinsman on the point of losing for ever, for himself and his descendants, his rights of kinship?

How the tie of kinship broken.

By one thing alone could the tie of kinship be absolutely broken—viz. by a man's *life being forfeit* for crime, such as murder of his chief of kindred. For such a criminal the gulf was opened and could only be bridged by his descendants, as in the case of strangers in blood, in the ninth generation, or by repeated intermarriage with innate Cymraeses in the fourth generation.[2] And this only in South Wales!

A traitor to his kindred was banished from Cymru, and 'it was required of every one of every sex and age within hearing of the horn to follow that exile, and to keep up the barking of dogs, to the time of his putting to sea, until he shall have passed three-score hours out of sight.' [3]

Thus, though the makers of the mediæval surveys naturally described the two classes of tribesmen and

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[1] II. xiv. 2, and see *W.L.* ix. 26.

[2] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 67.

[3] *W.L.* XIII. i. 26, and cf. *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, iii. c. vii.

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non-tribesmen as 'free' and 'bond,' or as *liberi* and *villani* or *nativi*, according to English manorial usage, the real dividing line between them under the tribal system turns out to be one of blood. It is true that the Welsh versions of the Codes themselves occasionally use the loan-word 'villein' in a vague sense for the stranger classes, but they never seem to forget that the real missing link between them and tribesmen is the tribal one of blood.

Grades of blood relationship belong to early stages of the tribal system.

The connection of both classes with land introduces, no doubt, at first sight, a complicating element into tribal society; but one strong indication that the tie of blood relationship had always lain at the root of tribal society from its early stages before it became finally settled upon land is the fact that when anything like proprietorship of land came into the tribal life it was forced, like everything else, into a tribal mould.

Whatever, for example, may have been the relation of the kindreds to land in the Denbigh Extent, the *weles* and *gavells* were moulded by blood-relationship. And we have seen that they were limited by the rules of tribal inheritance within the range of the fourth degree of descent.

The meaning of these rules and grades of kinship in the structure of the tribal community will next be examined, and then the light so gained may be thrown upon the further consideration of the position of the stranger classes.

III. THE KINDRED, AND ITS ORGANISATION.

The *innate boneddig*[1] was the fully freeborn Cymro, of pure Welsh blood, both on his father's and his mother's side, *without mixture of kin*.[2]

The tribe a bundle of kindreds.

He belonged to a kindred (*cenedl*). And the Cymric tribe or nation was a bundle of such kindreds bound together by blood relationship, by common interests, and by the necessity of mutual protection against foreign foes.

The whole tribe or federate country (*gwlad*) under the head king (*brenhin penraith*) was regarded as the supreme kindred (*cenedl benbaladr*).[3]

This acknowledgment of a common country and supreme kindred, whether a late or early conception, had this result: that a Cymro was a Cymro wherever he went within its bounds, whilst preserving his particular privilege in respect to land only in the territory of the chief of kindred under whom he was born. Even the *kin-shattered* man, therefore, had not necessarily ceased to be a free tribesman, and was not without a country.[4]

The kindred to the ninth degree of descent.

Confining attention at present to the lesser kindreds, the kindred proper, which was an organised unit, having its own 'chief of kindred' (*pencenedl*) and other officers, was the kindred embracing the descendants of a common ancestor to the ninth degree of descent—*i.e.* the same number of generations as that through which the stranger in blood

[1] Bon = stem, stock; bonedd = stock, pedigree; boneddig = having a stock or pedigree.

[2] *V.C.* II. xvi.

[3] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 64.

[4] *Id.*

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must pass before he became a Cymro under the tribal rules of South Wales.

The chief of kindred.

According to the Venedotian Code, the chief of kindred must not be either a *maer* or *canghellor* of the Prince, but an *uchelwr* of the country, and his claim must not be by maternity. He was entitled to 24*d.* for every woman brought by marriage into the kindred, and 24*d.* from every youth admitted by him to the kindred.[1]

And he had to pay 1*l.* yearly[2] to the lord, or higher chieftain, to whom he was thus placed in a semi-feudal relation.

He was assisted by other officers. The Gwentian Code mentions as indispensable the *representative* (*teispan tyly*), the *avenger* of the kindred (*dialwr*) and the *avoucher* (*ardelwr*).[3]

Organisation of the kindred.

The Triads thus enlarge upon the organisation of the kindred:—

> Three indispensables of a kindred: its *chief of kindred* (*pencenedl*), its *avenger* (*dialwr*), and its *representative* (*theisbantyle*).
>
> A *chief of kindred* is to be the oldest efficient man in the *kindred to the ninth descent*, and his privilege and office are to move the country and court in behalf of his man, and he is the speaker of his kindred in the conventional raith of country and federate country, and it is the duty of every *man* of the kindred to listen to him, and for him to listen to his *man*.
>
> The *avenger of a kindred* leads it to battle and war as there may be occasion, and he pursues evil-doers, brings them before the court, and punishes them according to the sentence of the court and judgment of the country.
>
> The *representative* is the mediating man—in court, and in congregation and in combat, and in every foreign affair. He is to be one of the wise men of the kindred by raith of chiefs of households (*penteuluoedd*) in the kindred, and be a coadjutor

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[1] *V.C.* II. xix. and *D.C.* II. xxiii. 34.

[2] *D.C.* II. xxiii. 55.

[3] *G.C.* II. xxxix. 88.

with the chief of kindred in every raith and convention of country; and he is to be elected by the raith of his kindred to the ninth descent by lot, *i.e.* by tacit vote.[1]

We are reminded, therefore, that the organisation of the kindred existed for defence and border warfare, as well as for the maintenance of legal rights.

Every kinsman to be a 'man and kin' to the chief of kindred.

If the Venedotian Code mentions the semi-feudal relation of the chief of kindred to the lord or higher chieftain, it would seem from the Triads representing early or later tradition (whichever it may have been) that a kind of semi-feudal relation was established also between the chief of kindred and the men of the kindred.

> Three indispensables of a chief of kindred: being an efficient man, being the eldest of the efficient men of his kindred to the end of the ninth descent, and being the chief of a household (*penteulu*), or a man with a wife and children by legitimate marriage; *and every one of the kindred is to be a 'man' and a 'kin' to him* (*yn wr ac yn gar iddo*).[2]

This tradition seems to be corroborated by the statements of the Codes, but with the curious difference that, as we shall see, in the Codes the 'lord' takes the place of the 'chief of kindred,' suggesting (as often happens) that the later traditions sometimes hail from an earlier stage in tribal life than those described in the Codes.

Be this as it may, the next point arises, how and when the entrance into the kindred and the establishment of this relation of *man* and *kin* took place.

Beginning with the Codes, a distinction must be drawn between the reception of a son into the kindred and the accession of the son to the full rights of a tribesman in the kindred.

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[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 88. [2] *Id.* XIII. ii. 165, and see *W.L.* XIII. ii. 67.

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Form of reception into the kindred.

As to the first, according to the Venedotian Code, in the case of a legitimate child the proof of kinship on the introduction of the child into the kindred was the oath of the mother in the church where the burial place of her people was, she placing her right hand on the altar and the relics, and her left hand upon the head of her child.[1]

The ceremony of formal reception is thus described in the Venedotian Code:—

> Thus a son is to be received as of kin. The father himself may receive him, after he is lawfully affiliated to him by his mother. If the father be not alive, the chief of the kindred with six may receive him, and those of the best men of his kindred, and thus he is to be received; the *chief of the kindred* is to take the hands of the child between his own hands, and give him a kiss, for a kiss is a sign of affinity, and then [the others are to do the same]. If there be no *chief of kindred*, twenty-one of the best men of the kindred, and the man who shall be in the place of the lord (*argluyd*) is to take the boy by his right hand, &c.[2]

The young tribesman attains his rights at fourteen.

As regards the attainment by the young tribesman of his full tribal rights, the following is from the Venedotian Code:—

> From the time when a boy is born until he shall be fourteen years of age, he is to be at his father's platter, and his father lord (*argluyd*) over him, and he is to receive no punishment but that of his father, and he is not to possess a penny of his property (*da*) during that time only in common with his father. . . . . since his father during that time is to be responsible for him for everything.
>
> At the end of fourteen years the father is to bring his son to the lord (*argluyd*) and commend him to his charge, and then the youth is to become his *man*, and to be on the privilege of his lord; and he is himself to answer for every claim that may be made on him, and he is to have his *da* (*cattle* or property).
>
> From that age [fourteen] onwards, he is of the same privilege

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[1] *V.C.* II. xxx., and see also *G.C.* II. xxxix. 40–41.

[2] *V.C.* II. xxxi. 25.

with an innate boneddig, for he has no privilege excepting his descent, as he ascends not to the privilege of his father till his father's death.[1] CHAP. III.

Father not to maintain him after fourteen, but the lord.

The completeness of the transference of the obligation for the son's maintenance from the father to the lord is shown further by the fact that on the son's death after attaining fourteen and leaving no child, the lord succeeds to his *da*, and not the father.[2]

And in another passage in the Venedotian Code it is explicitly stated that at fourteen a son is to be taken by the father to his lord, to become a man to the lord, and further it is added, 'and from that time forth he is to be supported by his lord.'[3]

A later development of this relation is mentioned in another treatise,[4] which states that a son is to become a lord's man at fourteen, and at twenty-one take land from his lord and do military service for him. This was a very natural extension of the older tribal relation, which, though one of kinship, also involved the common duty of mutual defence, and also participation in marauding enterprises in which kinsmen fought together under their chief of kindred.

The lord or kindred supplies him with cattle &c.

Returning, however, from military service to the right of maintenance, which the young tribesman claimed at the age when he also became liable to discharge the tribesman's duties, many cases of analogy in the Codes would seem to imply that it involved his being supplied with cattle by his lord

[1] *V.C.* II. xxviii., and see the same point as to *villani* in the Latin version of the laws, *L.W.* II. xl. 15.

[2] *V.C.* II. xxviii., and *W.L.* X. xvii. 31.

[3] *V.C.* II. i. 34.

[4] *W.L.* VIII. xi. 34.

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or by the chief of kindred. Whether agriculture or the grazing of cattle were the tribesman's means of support, oxen would be needed for his ploughing, and a share in the common herd of cattle to provide the meat and milk required to maintain him and his wife and children.

He had them from the tribe, not from his father.

If so much as this be stated in the Venedotian Code, or is to be implied from its statements, the fact is very important, for whether it were the lord or the chief of kindred who had to supply the young tribesman on coming of age with his full tribal rights and cattle, it shows that he got them somehow from the tribe or kindred—*i.e.* from the lord, whose man he had become, whether a territorial lord over several kindreds, or the chief of his own kindred. In either case, his lord was the representative of the tribe or of the kindred; which of the two hardly can matter much. If the lord were the higher chieftain of the greater kindred of which the tribesman's kindred formed a part, the young tribesman might well be *man* and *kin* to him as well as to the chief of his own kindred.

The Triads call the bundle of rights his *cyvarwys*.

Passing now to the evidence of the Triads, as already said, it is quite possible that on such a point they may record earlier traditions than the Codes. Their statements do not seem, on the whole, inconsistent with the facts just learned from the Codes. Greater stress, however, is laid upon the bundle of tribal rights acquired by the tribesman at the age of fourteen. They present some graphic details, and, without leaning too much upon them, they may at least be listened to.

This bundle of rights is designated throughout the Triads by the curious symbolic word *cyvarwys*.

The word is not unknown to the Codes, and is used as an equivalent of what may be called a 'perquisite' or 'customary payment.' Thus, the chief of the household, who is a son of the Prince (*brenhin*), was to receive three pounds yearly from him as his *cyvarus*,[1] and the chief of song a bridal *cyvarus* from every maiden on marriage.[2] But the word is used in the Triads apparently for the provision granted by the tribe to the tribesman on his coming of age. It is thus defined in the Triads :—

The *cyvarwys* consisted of five free erws, cotillage, &c.

> Three *cyvarwys* of an innate Cymro: five free erws; cotillage of the waste (*cyvar gobaith*) ; and hunting.[3]

And from another passage we learn that something like this was the usual provision made under the tribal system for those who had a right of maintenance, and who were therefore called *priodorion.* This passage shows that not only the 'innate Cymro,' but also the men of the Court by reason of their office, and, further, the clergy, had this right of maintenance, and so were *priodorion.*

The usual provision for maintenance.

> There are three sorts of *proprietors* (*priodorion*), viz. :— (1) Those naturally born free, (2) men of the court, and (3) clergy. The first of the three are called *laics*, and to them pertains the privilege of *location upon land* and *cyvarwys* . . . To the third class, or the clergy, there pertains the privilege of teachers, with an allowance to each from each plough within the district where he shall officiate as an authorised teacher, and his land of privilege free to him and his maintenance secured to him under the privilege of his services.[4]

Another triad describes the usual methods by which maintenance was provided for such persons, and applies the word *cyvarwys* to the maintenance :—

[1] *V.C.* I. vii. 11, and *D.C.* I. x. 2.
[2] *D.C.* I. xxv. and *G.C.* I. xxxvii.
[3] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 83.
[4] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 193.

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> From three things are those who have free maintenance (*trwyddedogion*) to obtain their *cyvarwys*: (1) 5 *free erws*; and when that by any circumstance is not available, then (2) from a *plough penny*; and when that is not available, then (3) from a *spear penny*, or a spear charge, regulated by the occasion from every household of the kindred.[1]

Finally, the Triads confirm the Codes in stating that the innate Cymro attained his *cyvarwys*, or bundle of tribal rights, on coming of age:—

> Three persons who pay *ebediw* without land; (1) a boy under 14, for it is then he is to enter upon cattle (*da*) of his own and do service; (2) an innate boneddig; and (3) a *cyvarwyded* man.[2]

Another triad is as follows:—

Given to the tribesman on coming of age.

> Three *original privileges of every native Cymro* (and also under the name of Cymro is included the Cymraes):—(1) *Cyvarwys* and fruition of five free erws under the privilege of his origin as an innate Cymro . . . (2) The privilege of bearing defensive arms . . . and (3) The privilege of raith under the protection of his chief of kindred: and *at the age of growth of beard they are bestowed on a Cymro, and upon a Cymraes when she shall marry.*[3]

If this passage means anything, it surely means that even during the lifetime of the parents the 'privileges of every Cymro' (including the cyvarwys of 5 free erws, &c.) attached to the son on his coming of age.

This, as we have seen, is consistent with the Venedotian Code, though the latter makes no mention of the 5 free erws, and does not apply the word *cyvarwys* to the bundle of rights which the new tribesman acquires when he becomes the acknowledged *man* of the chief of kindred or the higher lord.

Lastly, there is obviously something in this gift of the means of maintenance by the lord or the

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[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 200.
[2] *W.L.* XIV. iii. 2.
[3] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 65.

chief of kindred to the youth on his coming of age, involving an idea or principle very much like that of *investiture*. He becomes 'man and kin' to the chief of kindred, and, entering thus upon a tribesman's responsibilities, he is invested by right with the *cyvarwys* or donation of the necessary provision for his tribal maintenance and the fulfilment of the tribesman's duties. Is it not possible that there may be something in the *cyvarwys* which is typical of the ceremony of tribal investiture?

The *cyvarwys* a kind of investiture of full tribal rights.

If it be permissible on this point to travel outside the lines of the Welsh laws, there is a passage in the story of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, which is significant of the almost feudal character of the *cyvarwys*. *Kilhwch* confesses that he is not yet of an age to wed, but yet he wants *Olwen* for a wife. His father tells him, 'That will be easy for thee. Arthur is thy first cousin (*ceuynderw*). Go therefore unto Arthur, and ask him to cut thy hair, and ask this of him as a *cyuarwys*.' Then he goes to Arthur, and Arthur tells him he will give him whatever *cyvarwys* he may ask for. The youth thereupon asks him first to dress his hair. And Arthur takes 'a golden comb and scissors, whereof the loops were of silver,' and he dresses his hair. Then Arthur asks him, '*Who art thou? For my heart warms unto thee, and I know that thou art come of my blood.*' He recognises that he is a first cousin (*keuynderw*), and promises to give him whatever he may ask for. Lastly, the youth asks for *Olwen* as his *cyvarwys*.[1]

Connected with tonsure, in the story of *Kilhwch and Olwen*.

[1] Guest's *Mabinogion*, p. 219 *et seq.* *Red Book of Hergest* (1887), i. p. 105 *et seq.* See mention of land given by a *brenhin* to his man as a *cyvarwys*. *W.L.* X. xi. 17, and *W.L.* XI. i. 1.

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How easily the submission to tonsure, as the outward acknowledgment of rightful service to a chief of kindred on becoming his man, and the receipt thereupon of a *cyvarwys* from the lord might grow into something very much like the homage and investiture of feudal knighthood!

We shall see by-and-by that *tonsure* was the ceremony whereby a stranger in blood became the *aillt* or tonsured servant of a lord. But the point here is the connection of tonsure with the recognition of kinship, on the youth becoming 'man and kin' to a chief of kindred.

Kilhwch goes to Arthur, and demands tonsure and his *cyvarwys*, not only because Arthur is *King*, but also because he is *of his own kindred*, and probably also the chief of kindred to him. And the whole story turns on Arthur's recognition that the youth is of his kin. It would seem, then, that there was a tonsure for kinship and another tonsure for service, and most likely a distinction between the two.

Earlier instance of tonsure connected with kinship.

Another, and perhaps older, illustration of the ceremony of tonsure, as the recognition of kinship, is found in the story related by Nennius of Vortigern and Germanus. Vortigern's son, whom he tried to fasten upon Germanus, at the suggestion of the latter, and to the great disgust of the former, takes a razor and scissors and comb to his real father—*i.e.* Vortigern—saying to him, '*Thou art my father; shave and cut the hair of my head.*'[1]

These traditional stories seem to add some colour

[1] Nennius, *Hist. Britan.*

to the suggestion that, in this matter at least, the Triads represent an older tradition than that of the Codes.

Relation between the chief and his 'man' one not of tenancy, but of kinship.

To sum up the evidence, it would seem, then, from the passages quoted from both the Codes and Triads, that the kindred included the descendants of a common ancestor to the ninth degree, and that this kindred was bound together not only by the tie of a common ancestry, but also by the tribal relation of each one of its members to the chief of kindred. This relation was that of being a 'man' to the 'chief.'

Nor had this relation apparently, in its origin, anything to do with land. It seems to belong to the essence of the tribal system itself, for the chief of kindred of the district was not necessarily the territorial lord.

The young tribesman entitled to maintenance and training.

And further, if we may trust the Triads, the chief of kindred had, besides those mentioned, duties of a paternal character to the young tribesmen. The youths who became his *men* at the early age of 14 not only became entitled to maintenance, but also to training. And this, we are told, was not merely military. The organisation of the kindred extended also to the provision of education in the domestic arts necessary to pastoral and semi-agricultural tribes.

> There are three domestic arts, being primary branches—husbandry or cultivation of land (*aru tir*), dairy farming (*maeronaeth*) and weaving, and the chiefs of kindreds (*pencenedloedd*) are to enforce instruction in them. . . .[1]

[1] *Ancient Laws of Wales*, *W.L.* XIII. ii. 75. As to the quartering of these youths (*gweision bychain*) on the chief's dependents see App. B.e. p. 86.

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The seven elders the guardians of kinship.

Associated with the chief of kindred, and acting as his coadjutors, were *the seven Elders of the kindred*,[1] whose duty it was to preserve by tradition the knowledge of kinship, and who had an important place in judicial proceedings, inasmuch as it was their duty, according to the Codes, to swear to the kin of anyone claiming by kin and descent.[2]

These Elders were 'Chiefs of Households' within the kin, and were an important representative element in the organisation of the kindred. From one passage in the Triads, it would seem that the official *representative* of the kindred was in some cases chosen by them.

> Three raithmen of a kindred—its chief of kindred, its seven elders (*henadur*) as coadjutors of its chief of kindred, and its representative (*teisbantyle*), and he is a man of the kindred who shall be chosen on account of his wisdom and his literary knowledge, and to be chosen by lot or silent vote, of the elders of the kindred.[3]

Duties of the ideal chief of kindred.

Finally, another of the Triads sums up the duties of the ideal chief of kindred in these graphic words :—

> Three things, if possessed by a man, make him fit to be a chief of kindred:—That he should speak on behalf of his kin and be listened to, that he should fight on behalf of his kin and be feared, and that he should be security on behalf of the kin and be accepted.[4]

IV. THE GRADE OF KINDRED TO THE FOURTH DEGREE OF DESCENT.

The Denbigh Extent has made us familiar with the group of descendants down to great-grandchildren,

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[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 162.
[2] *D.C.* II. viii. 63, and *G.C.* II. xxx. 23.
[3] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 162.
[4] *Id.*

or the fourth degree of descent, holding together as a tribal unit of occupation under the name of the *wele*, or *gwely*, of the common ancestor.

Grade of kindred to the fourth degree.

And the Denbigh Extent also supplied the statement that inheritance was allowed no further than to the fourth degree. If there were no kindred within that limit the lord took the inheritance by escheat.

Now, there is a passage in the Venedotian Code, headed 'The Law of Brothers for Land,' repeated in substance by the other Codes and also in other legal treatises, to the following effect:—

Applied to land, in the Venedotian Code.

> Thus, brothers are to share land between them: four erws to every *tyddyn* (homestead). Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn, altered it to twelve erws to the *uchelwr* and eight to the *aillt*, and four to the *godaeog*; yet, nevertheless, it is most usual that four erws be in the tyddyn.
>
> [Here follows the measure of the erw.]
>
> If there be no buildings on the land, the youngest son is to divide all the patrimony (*trew y tat*), and the eldest is to choose, and each in seniority choose unto the youngest.
>
> If there be buildings the youngest brother but one is to divide the tyddyns, for in that case he is the meter: and the youngest to have his choice of the tyddyns: and after that he is to divide all the patrimony: and by seniority they are to choose unto the youngest: and that division is to continue during the lives of the brothers.

Division among brothers, and again among cousins *per capita*.

This refers to the division among brothers; but the family holding was not broken up by it, because the division was not final. The sons of the brothers did not claim *per stirpes*. They were first cousins, and had the right to claim an equality of shares *per capita*.

> And after the brothers are dead, the first cousins are to equalise if they will it: and thus they are to do: the heir of the youngest brother is to equalise, and the heir of the eldest brother is to choose, and so by seniority unto the youngest: and that distribution is to continue between them during their lives.

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Final division among second cousins *per capita.*

This refers to the equalisation of the shares of the grandchildren who are first cousins. But still the family holding is not broken up. Yet another division is provided for, to take place, when, presumably, all the grandchildren are dead. Then the great-grandchildren or second cousins finally divide equally *per capita.*

> And if second cousins should dislike the distribution which took place between their parents, they also may co-equate in the same manner as the first cousins: and after that division no one is either to distribute or to co-equate. *Tir gwelyawc* is to be treated as we have above stated.[1]

So also in the other Codes.

In the Dimetian Code the same rules of division are stated as follows:—

> When brothers share their patrimony between them, the youngest is to have the principal tyddyn, and all the buildings of his father, and eight erws of land, his boiler, his fuel hatchet, and his coulter, because a father cannot give those three to any but the youngest son, and though they should be pledged they never become forfeited. Then let every brother take a homestead (*eissydyn*) with eight erws of land, and the youngest son is to share, and they are to choose in succession from the eldest to the youngest.
>
> Three times shall the same patrimony be shared between three grades of a kindred, first between brothers, the second time between cousins, the third time between second cousins; after that there is no propriate share of land.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> After there shall have been a sharing of land acquiesced in by co-inheritors, no one of them has a claim on the share of the other, he having issue, except for a sub-share *when the time for that shall arrive.* Yet whosoever shall not have any issue of his body, *his co-inheritors, within the three degrees of kin from the stock are to be his heirs.*[2]

Now, without inquiring at present whether the description of family rights contained in these pas-

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[1] *V.C.* II. xii. *Tir gwelyawc* = land of *weles* or *gwelys.*

[2] *D.C.* II. xxiii. 1-3 and 19.

sages was primarily applicable to actual ownership by a family of particular land in the modern sense, or whether it applied rather to the tribesmen's shares or rights of occupation, grazing, and co-tillage in the land of the tribe such as belonged to the *weles* of the Denbigh Survey, there must surely be a close connection between these *weles* or *gwelys* and the *tir gwelyawc* of these passages.

This explains the *weles* of the surveys embracing great grandsons.

They describe the internal rights of a family holding of whatever kind it might be. And certainly they seem to describe exactly what is necessary to explain the care which is taken in the Survey to keep up the memory of the successive divisions of the original *wele*. In the case of the original *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, there is, so to speak, the external undivided unity preserved, but there is also recognised the family division of the *wele* of a presumably dead ancestor into the several *weles* of his sons. And, further, the division of these into the *weles* or *gavells* of their sons, and so on. And if we ask why the original *wele* remains externally undivided all the time till the family has grown into a community of a score or two of descendants, this passage from the Codes clearly seems to explain the reason. So long as any one of the sons were alive there was to be no internal or family division among grandsons; and until all the sons and grandsons had died no final division was to take place among great-grandchildren. And, therefore, the original *wele* remains the external unit, till the division between great-grandsons has been effected.

The *wele* holds together till the final division of rights *per capita* takes place.

That the *wele* occupied the homesteads, with land round them, in *quasi* ownership in severalty

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—*i.e.* in the exclusive occupation of the several families—and also held undivided shares in the pasture and waste of the district in common, along with other weles, does not necessarily prevent the term *tir gwelyawc* from embracing the whole.

Be this as it may, for the present we may conclude that, in the case both of particular ownership and tribal occupation of land, the limit of kindred to the fourth degree of descent was an important practical limit of family or tribal rights.

The same grade of kindred applied to strangers who intermarry with tribeswomen.

It has already been incidentally mentioned that the rules regulating the attainment of tribal rights by the stranger in blood bring us again to the same limit or grade of kinship. The descendant of the stranger in blood, whose entrance into tribal rights has been hastened by repeated intermarriages, becomes a *priodawr* and the founder of a new stock or kindred in the fourth degree of descent.

Here, then, is an important line or limit marking a distinctive grade of kinship, and inclosing, as it were, a distinct group of kinsmen embracing great-grandchildren or second cousins.

It was the limit of certain responsibilities.

For what other purposes did it exist?

There were three distinct responsibilities which were confined within this special grade of kinship—*i.e.* they were not extended to the wider kindred.

> Three things which are not to be done by any further of kin than a second cousin:—(1) To pay *saraad* with such as shall have nothing of their own to pay; (2) To pay cattle without surety with the son of an alltud by a Cymraes beyond the third kin; (3) To mutually uphold and keep each other's share with property and oath by those beyond second cousins, for [land] is not to be shared further.[1]

[1] *W.L.* XIV. xxi. 21, and see *V.C.* II. xxxi. 10.

Now, what were these three things?

Payment of *saraad*.

First. The *saraad* was the payment for insult or injury short of homicide. Kinsmen as far as second cousins had joint responsibility to the injured person for the crimes of their kinsman, and no kinsman beyond this grade was responsible unless the crime amounted to homicide.[1]

Marrying of daughters.

Secondly. Kinsmen within this grade were responsible for the marriage of daughters.[2] As a rule, the daughter did not inherit family land with her brothers, but she was entitled to her *gwaddol*, or marriage portion,[3] which she took with her on marriage, and took back again in case she separated from her husband within seven years. After that, if the marriage continued, the husband and wife were jointly entitled to the combined chattels of both.[4] But the kinsmen's duty to her did not stop here.

She was entitled to be married to a free tribesman, so that her sons might have full tribal rights.

But if this responsible family group gave the daughter away to a non-tribesman, who was not a member of a family or kindred, so that her sons could not receive inheritance in tribal rights from their father, then they had not fulfilled their responsibility to her.

The sons could in such a case have no inheritance from their father, and, therefore, tribal law gave them

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[1] *V.C.* III. i. and *G.C.* II. viii.

[2] So in the tale, 'Kilhwch and Olwen,' *Red Book of Hergest* (1887 ed.), i. p. 119; Guest, p. 284. When Yspaddaden Penkawr is asked to give his daughter in marriage, he answered, 'Her four great-grandmothers and her four great-grandsires are yet alive; it is needful that I take counsel of them.'

[3] One half of a brother's share in chattels, *V.C.* II. i. 64.

[4] *D.C.* II. xviii. 26.

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Right of their sons by maternity in some cases.

an inheritance by right of maternity in the family rights of the group who had given their mother away to a stranger.[1] And, further, as the sons would have no kinsmen on their father's side to be responsible for them, tribal law threw the responsibility on the mother's kindred. They became responsible for the *saraad* of their kinswoman's sons in case they committed crime. This was called 'payment of cattle without surety,' because (as explained in the Venedotian Code) no bond of suretyship was necessary, and 'with cattle every payment formerly was made.'[2]

The *third* point refers to the final division of *tir gwelyawc* among second cousins. After this there was no further joint occupation, but only what may be described as joint warranty of their common title in case it was disputed.

In all three cases the limit of responsibility was that of the fourth degree of descent—the great-grandsons of a common ancestor—and there was no liability beyond it.

V. THE GRADE OF KINDRED TO THE SEVENTH AND NINTH DEGREES.

Middle grade to seventh degree of descent.

Passing now from the definite grade of kindred confined to the fourth degree or second cousins, it is at first sight more difficult to comprehend exactly the meaning of the middle grade of kindred—*i.e.* the grade extending to the seventh degree of descent, or fifth cousins, which was the grade primarily re-

[1] *V.C.* II. i. 59.

[2] *V.C.* II. xxxi. 10, and see II. i. 61, and *D.C.* II. xxiii. 36, and *W.L.* IV. i. 32, and X. vii. 8.

sponsible for the crimes of kinsmen as regards *homicide.*

Primarily liable for *galanas* for homicide.

There is some confusion in the Codes in the method of counting degrees of relationship and in the statements of the exact degree of kinship to be included in this middle grade; but there seems to be reason in the inference that the limit of the seventh degree of descent in the case of responsibility for homicide was based upon the principle that the greater crime involving heavier payments necessitated a wider area of responsibility.

But the full responsibility of the kindred for the *galanas*, or payment for homicide, did not end with kinsmen within the seventh degree of descent.

In the Venedotian Code there are two versions as to the payment of *galanas.*

How the *galanas* shared among the kinsmen.

The first[1] makes the amount fall in thirds. One-third fell on the murderer and his father and mother, if living; two-thirds fell on the kindred. Of the first third the murderer and his children were to pay two parts, and his father and mother the other part—the father paying twice as much as the mother.

The kindred on whom the other two-thirds fell was defined as 'from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent.'

Kindred to the ninth degree liable for 'spear penny' in aid of the murderer.

This exhausts the *galanas*, but there is still the further provision of the 'spear penny,' in aid of the murderer, in case of his default in paying his share. The deficiency in this case was to be gathered from the kindred beyond the seventh descent, or fifth

[1] *V.C.* III. i. 16.

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cousins. And thus, according to the Venedotian Code, it was to be obtained:—

> The murderer is to take a servant of the lord, carrying with him a relic, and wherever he shall meet with a person beyond the seventh degree of kindred, let such person take his oath that he is not descended from any of the four kindreds from which the other is descended, and unless he take that oath, let him pay a spear penny, and if he take the oath he is to be exempted.[1]

The other Venedotian version may be summarised thus:—

> The first third [of the *galanas*] falls on the murderer, and the mother and father and brothers and sisters with him, for those persons would receive with him a third of the *galanas* if paid to them, therefore let them pay so with him . . . (one-third of it on the mother and father, one-third on brothers and sisters, and one-third on the murderer, . . . males paying two parts and females one).
>
> The remaining two-thirds fall on the kindred (two parts of it on the kindred of the father and one part on the kindred of the mother).
>
> The kindred for this purpose is confined within the seventh man thus:—
>
> 1. Brother = braut.
> 2. 1st cousin = keuenderu.
> 3. 2nd cousin = keuerderu.
> 4. 3rd cousin = keẏuẏn.
> 5. 4th cousin = gorcheẏuen.
> 6. 5th cousin = gorchau.
> 7. Son of 5th cousin = mab gorchau.

And then it continues:—

> If the murderer have nothing to pay with, it is right to give him a spear penny to assist him, and that shall be paid to him from the seventh man onwards: those seven men are brother, first cousin, second cousin, third cousin, fourth cousin, fifth cousin, and a kinsman, son of a fifth cousin,[2] and *since relationship can be no further counted, let them beyond that* pay to him a spear penny. And the manner he shall collect a spear penny from the men he may find of his kindred, when he may not know how to

[1] *V.C.* III. i. 13.

[2] In the case of the son of the fifth cousin, 'the father pays the *galanas* for his son, and the son does not,' *V.C.* III. i. 20.

trace his relationship to them, is to take a relic he may credit, and when he shall meet with one of those men, let him take his oath that he does not originate from his kindred, or pay him a spear penny.[1]

There is here the same confusion in the description of the fifth cousin or seventh in descent—*i.e.* the great-grandson's great-grandson; but one thing is clear: *there are men of the kindred beyond what we have called the middle grade of kinship*, and these are to contribute the spear penny up to the ninth degree in descent—otherwise who are the remoter kindred by whom the spear penny is to be paid?

VI. THE REASON OF THE THREE GRADES OF KINSHIP.

Natural basis of the three grades of kinship.

The importance of the recognition in the kindred of the three grades of kinship makes it worth while to attempt to get a glimpse, at least, of the circumstances or facts of human nature out of which it arose. So remarkable a feature in the structure of tribal society must surely have had a rational and natural basis.

Without travelling outside the knowledge derived from the Welsh laws, there are indications that it had a connection with the *hearth*.

There were two tribal chieftainships within the *cenedl*, or kindred—viz. that of the *pencenedl* and that of the *penteulu*. Under each chief of kindred were many chiefs of households.

The hearth and the mark of the kindred upon it.

The hearth (*aelwyd* or *ayluyt*[2]) was the centre of the house, and it was sometimes metaphorically used for the household.

Three hearths (*aelwyd*) that are to make satisfaction on account of such as shall not be under fealty to the lord—that of the father, of an elder brother, and of a father-in-law.[3]

[1] *V.C.* III. i. 17. [2] *V.C.* II. xiii. 4. [3] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 132.

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The right of *dadenhudd*, or to the uncovering of the parental hearth.

The hearth, moreover, was the symbol of family ownership and inheritance. The right of the son on succession was to uncover the hearth of his father or ancestor. The legal term for the recovery by an ejected son of his patrimony was *dadenhudd*, or the uncovering again of the parental hearth. The term was a graphic one. The fire-back-stone, set up against the central pillar of the hut supporting the roof (*pentanvaen* = head-fire-stone), was a memorial or witness of land and homestead (*tir a thyle*), because it bore the *mark of the kindred* upon it.[1]

> There are three dead testimonies concerning land: (1) The witness of heirs as far as great-grandchildren (*gorwyron*), or beyond, is credited in court as to what they heard from their ancestors. . . . (2) Elders of country and kindred (*gwlad a chenedl*) as to what they know of kin and descent; (3) The *fire-back-stone* of the plaintiff's father, or of his grandfather, or of his great-grandfather, or others of his kindred. . . .[2]

The significance of the covering and uncovering of the hearth.

And the covering and uncovering of the fire had and has still a picturesque significance.[3]

Whether the fire were of wood or turf, the hearth was swept out every night. The next thing was to single out one particular glowing ember—the *seed of fire*—which was carefully restored to the hearth and covered up with the remaining ashes for the night. This was the nightly covering of the fire. The morning process was to uncover the 'seed of fire,' to sweep out the ashes under which it was hid, and then deftly to place back the live ember on the hearth, piling over it the fuel for the new day's fire. This was the uncovering of the fire, which thus from year end to year end might never go out. Anyone who has seen the process performed

[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 99. [2] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 227. [3] *V.C.* II. i. 31.

on a Celtic hearth will understand the natural transition in the mind of the Welsh poet, Henry Vaughan, in his lines on 'Sleep,' from the high-flown metaphor—

> The pious soul by night
> Is like a clouded star. . . .

to the more homely one—

> Though sleep, *like ashes*, hide
> My lamp and life. . . .

and see at once the symbolic significance as well of the *dadenhudd* as of the *curfew*.

The suggestions of folk-lore might lead us further to recognise important religious superstitions connected with the hearth. But even without this the picture of the son, or grandson, or great-grandson,[1] returning perhaps from exile to claim the paternal homestead by uncovering again the ancestral hearth, is graphic and solemn enough to emphasise for us the importance of the Cymric hearth as, in a very literal sense, the *focus* of the rights of kindred.

The hearth the 'focus' of the rights of kindred.

There is significance also in the bar to the realisation of the exile's rights to the full recovery of his patrimony, resulting from the existence on the land where such was the case of 'occupiers who had grown into *priodorion*,' and founded a family hearth by occupation for four generations. In that case the returning exile could not oust the actual occupant. The fire-back-stone of the new occupant's family had

[1] *W.L.* VII. i. 26. 'A person is not to claim *dadenhudd*, except by the hearth he himself shall uncover, or his father before him. A person is not to claim land by *dadenhudd* because his grandfather or his great-grandfather shall have been on the land, if he do not mind to claim [as in that case he shouldl by kin and descent.

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acquired the mark of a kindred upon it, and the two claimants must therefore divide the land between them.[1]

Returning, then, to the consideration of the three grades of kindred from the point of view of the family hearth, the first two had obviously a foundation in the nature of things, inasmuch as they were bounded at one end by the reach of the actual sight and at the other end by the direct memory of a single person.

The ancestor may live to see great-grand sons, and remember his own great-grand-father.

The eldest living ancestor, as chief of the household occupying the principal homestead or *tyddyn*, and seated by the ancestral hearth, might well live to see growing up around it a family group extending to great-grandchildren.

On the other hand, looking backwards to his own childhood, he might well recollect his own great-grandfather sitting as head of the household at the same hearth, just as his great-grandchildren would some day hereafter remember him. Thus the extreme natural reach of the knowledge of the head of the household might cover seven generations. If during this period the purity of the family blood had been duly preserved, the kindred within these natural limits would be a perfect kindred.

Memory and sight may well cover seven genera-tions,

and tradi-tion go back two more.

Finally, if family tradition went back two stages farther than actual memory, then it would embrace the larger kindred to the ninth degree of descent. And as, in all probability, amongst the various household hearths there would always be present and conspicuous that of the head of the kindred, the patriarch under whose chieftainship the groups of

[1] *V.C.* II. xiv. 2.

lesser kindreds were united into the larger kindred, tradition thus backed by outward and visible signs would, in the course of ages, easily invest such tribal rules with the force and strength of customary law.[1]

Force of tribal custom.

That rules and grades of kinship thus ingrained in the structure of tribal life should be applied as they arose to other matters, such as the attainment by strangers in blood of the privilege of kinship or the acquirement of proprietary rights in land, and finally that the same rules should mould the form of land ownership, when at last attained, into a family holding by the kindred within the fourth degree—all this was natural enough. And when we realise how customary law in these further matters became thus, in the same way, formed and fixed by the force of constant repetition, backed by household and tribal tradition, we begin to understand the tenacity with which the tribal system everywhere was able to maintain itself through centuries and even thousands of years.

The tribal system of blood-relationship never grew old. It was always forging new links in an endless chain, and the links of kindred always overlapped one another.

The hearth connected

Were Welsh tribal law historically isolated and alone, the account thus given of the structure of

[1] *Giraldus Cambrensis* mentions that the Welsh knew the names of their ancestors to the sixth or seventh degree, and sometimes further. Mr. A. N. Palmer has referred me to the fact that as late as the time of Norden's survey (A.D. 1620) of Abenbury, a township adjoining Wrexham, a gentleman of estate gave his name as 'Humfridus ap Robert ap Will'm ap Rob't ap David ap Griffith ap Robert.' In this case seven generations were represented in one man's name.

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with religious superstitions and the worship of ancestors.

tribal society and of the grades of kinship might perhaps be accepted as sufficient in itself, and the hints given by folklore of still deeper religious and superstitious foundations for the sacredness of the hearth and the sacredness of kinship might perhaps be passed by unheeded.

But when the comparative method forces upon us the fact that in other tribal systems the hearth is surrounded with sacredness as the centre of the worship of ancestors, and that connected with that worship there were found in various tribal systems strangely similar grades of kinship, to shut our eyes to this wider view would be wilful blindness to facts which may throw back, even upon the Welsh tribal system, an important side-light.

When it is considered how large a part tribal religions have played in history by giving to tribal societies the tough tenacity which has enabled them to live through so many ages and to make and maintain such conquests as they have done—conspicuously in the case of the Jews and the Arabs—we may be thankful even to folklore for reminding us that the ties of Cymric blood relationship may have had religious sanctions long ago obscured, if not altogether obliterated by Christian and ecclesiastical influences.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY—(continued).

I. THE RELATION OF THE GRADES OF KINDRED TO THE OCCUPATION OF LAND.

THE foregoing considerations lead to the recognition of the extreme antiquity of the grades of kinship.

The grades of kinship ancient.

Rooted in the nature of things and moulded by the necessities and circumstances of tribal life, they in their turn seem to have controlled and forced into their mould any new elements which might enter from time to time within the range of tribal life and require adjustment to it.

One of these new elements was undoubtedly encountered, earlier or later, in connection with occupation and ownership of land.

The passage from nomad life to settled occupation involved the absorption, so to speak, of the new element into the tribal system.

How they affected the tribal relation to land.

It is not easy to attain a clear idea of how the problem as to land was solved.

It is easy enough to assume that whatever of land ownership grew up in the tribe was tribal ownership. But this, if strictly true, would carry us

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but a very little way into a correct understanding of the relation of the tribesmen to land.

It will not do to bring into the question the modern democratic view of a society in which equality of rights and shares settled every question. Such an idea was foreign to the tribal system.

Careful consideration of such facts as turn up incidentally in the surveys and Codes affords the only chance that a true understanding can be reached, and, after all, survivals of apparently conflicting principles may suggest that there is a misunderstanding somewhere needing further light to dispel it.

In the first place we must try to get behind the political or juridical arrangements, the cantrefs and the cymwds with their so-called manors in which representatives and officers of the chieftain maintained a kind of lordship approaching to the territorial and manorial type.

The kindreds to the ninth and fourth degree

Recognising the existence of this element and its importance and possible antiquity as belonging to the question of chieftainship (to be hereafter considered), and confining attention to the strictly tribal occupation of land, we have first to recognise the relation to land of both the greater kindred to the ninth degree and the lesser kindred to the fourth degree of descent.

The kindred to the ninth degree acknowledging a common ancestry and organised into a social or political unit under its chief of kindred, its representative, and its seven elders, was a clearly defined and separate group.

both related to land.

Within each of these greater groups of kindred were the lesser groups of kindred to the fourth

degree of descent, embracing great-grandchildren or second cousins, each group forming a separate *wele* or *progenies* under the name of the great-grandfather, whether dead or alive, until the final division among second cousins when all the sons and the grandsons should be dead, and in the meantime divided into sub-*weles* or gavells, as the case might be, under their several heads of households or eldest living ancestor.

It is these lesser groups or *weles* that the Denbigh Extent represents as the tribal units of land occupation.

The head of a *wele* a *tiriawg* or landed person.

Were each of these *weles* the sole occupants of the district in which their members lived and in which their cattle were pastured, the head of the *wele* might be regarded as the landowner of the district, and a ring fence might be thrown round the land occupied by him and his *wele*. He would be the *tiriawg* or landed person in whom was vested the tribal proprietorship of the land occupied by the numerous members of his *wele*.

The fact that he and his *wele* were only joint participants with other *weles* in the tribal rights of the district in undivided shares (as in the case of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk) ought not to blind our eyes to his position as a *landed* proprietor in the sense that in him were vested the tribal rights of his *wele*, so far as regards land occupation.

Externally viewed, he might well be regarded as *proprietor* of the *tyddyns* or homesteads occupied in severalty by himself and his descendants along with their crofts and cattle yards, and, besides these, of undivided and extensive rights of grazing jointly with other *weles*. When he, the original head of the

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wele, was dead, his sons would be the proprietors of the occupation rights of the same original *wele*, and when the sons were dead the grandsons would succeed them in the proprietorship.

Thus in the Denbigh Extent *Tebrith* was occupied by the *wele* of 'the grandsons of Pythle,' and so, too, the *priodarii* holding the original *wele* of Rand' ap Asser were grandsons, and the *wele* was called by the surveyors '*wele wyrion Rand'*.'

The head of a *wele* an *uchelwr* or *breyr*.

Thus whoever was the head of the *wele* was a landed person and also a chief of household. And by virtue of this double position his so-called 'privilege' was that of an *uchelwr* or *breyr*, and in South Wales he was as such a judge in the court of the cymwd or cantref.

> Every landed person (*tiriawg*) being a chief of household (*penteulu*) is a judge in South Wales.[1]

And again:

> A *breyr* is an innate landed person (*tiriawg*) who is a chief of household (*penteulu*) with privilege of a court of justice.[2]

The *uchelwr* or *breyr*, sometimes called a *gwrda*, was a man of responsibility, bound to afford protection and to secure justice out of court as well as in it.

> If a man take a woman clandestinely and bring her to the house of an *uchelwr* to sleep with her, and the *gwrda* do not take security for her *amobr*, let him pay it himself.[3]

It seems to be clear, then, that the *uchelwr* or *breyr* was a 'landed' person and a chief of household, and privileged in respect of his position as

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[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 248. [2] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 218.
[3] *V.C.* II. i. 29.

such. Every chief of kindred and every chief of a *wele* was thus in the sense above mentioned a landed and privileged person, with certain land occupied by himself and his family in severalty in *tyddyns* and crofts as well as with large grazing rights over sometimes several and distant districts.

At the same time, extensive rights of grazing implied wealth in the shape of herds of cattle. The possession of numerous oxen implied the lion's share in the produce of co-aration. All this went with his being the landed head of his *wele*, and made him a powerful man. And yet, at the same time, his land-ownership, such as it was, could not be an absolute ownership. It was subject to the rules of '*tir gueliawc*.'

To take an actual case, it would seem that under these rules Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was during his life the only landed person in his *wele*. In him its rights as to land were vested.

The other members of the *wele* were not joint tenants, or 'landed' persons, but had only rights of maintenance.

He was the *tiriawg* or landed head and *uchelwr* of the *wele*, and the only one. All his descendants, members of the *wele*, were, as to the land, in a subordinate position, with *cyvarwys* or rights of maintenance only, which rights of maintenance, however, implied rights of grazing cattle in the common herd and co-aration with fellow tribesmen.

The young tribesmen of Lauwarghe's *wele* who on coming of age during his lifetime became *innate boneddigs* did not, however, become joint tenants with Lauwarghe, whether sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons. Their tribal rights were, not to a joint share in the land, but to that maintenance which was the common portion of every kinsman. They

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claimed this maintenance, along with their kinsmen,[1] 'by kin and descent,' as members of the kindred *in the lifetime of their fathers*, and the only doubt seems to be whether they claimed it from the head of the lesser or the greater kindred—whether from Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk as head of the *wele* in which they were born, or from the chief of the greater kindred to the ninth degree, or from the territorial lord of the district.

The *innate boneddig* claimed his maintenance from the kindred by 'kin and descent,' and not from his father.

Every *innate boneddig* on coming of age had, as we have seen, to become the *man* of a *lord* (*argluyd*) as well as *man* and *kin* to the chief of kindred. Till he was 14 his father was his lord (*argluyd*),[2] and maintained him at his own platter, but after that age his father was his lord no longer, and the lord (*argluyd*) whose man he had become had to give him his maintenance. If Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was an *uchelwr* it seems probable that he may have had cast upon him as head of the *wele*, and *argluyd* of his man, the obligation of providing out of his tribal herds the necessary cattle for his maintenance as well as the *tyddyn* and the usufruct of the 'five free erws' which made up his *cyvarwys*.

Be this as it may, the new tribesman claimed his maintenance as a member of the kindred, 'by kin and descent,' and not by inheritance from his father.

There is a mysterious meaning hidden apparently in the word *tref*, which would help to clear our vision if it could be itself made transparent.

The phrase for patrimony is *tref y tat*, suggesting that the son got it from his father's property

[1] *D.C.* II. viii. 66.

[2] *V.C.* II. xxviii. 3–5.

and not from that of the kindred. The word for kin is *car*, and the use of the word *cartref* in the following passage seems to imply that what the new tribesman got as his *cyvarwys* came from the kindred.

> Three things without which there cannot be a home: a separate *cartrev*, privilege of country and kindred, and *cyvarws* secured by social compact (*cymmrawd*).[1]

All these three things the tribesman got by virtue of his membership in the social organism of the kindred and not by inheritance from his father.

He *ascends* to his father's privilege as a landed person on his father's death.

But over and above these things that belonged to every tribesman as an *innate boneddig* he had a prospective right of possible succession to his father's or his grandfather's position of privilege as a landed person and the chief of his *wele*. When he attained to this it was not by 'kin and descent' from the kindred. In the words of the Venedotian Code he had to 'ascend' to it, and he might live and die without ever attaining it. The passage already quoted from the Venedotian Code, which states that the son at 14 who is an *innate boneddig* has no privilege except his descent, as 'he ascends not to the privilege of his father until his father's death,' states further, 'and no one is a *marchog* [*i.e.* a horseman or knight] *until he shall ascend.*'[2]

The *uchelwr* is a *horseman*; the *innate boneddig* only a foot-soldier.

What is the meaning of this addition? It gives us incidentally another mark of the position of the *uchelwr* or *breyr*, distinguishing him from the subordinate tribesmen of his *wele*. His military dignity when the tribesmen go to battle is

[1] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 220.

[2] *V.C.* II. xxviii. 9.

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marked by his fighting on horseback, whilst the subordinate tribesmen mostly fight on foot.

Giraldus Cambrensis describes the *nobiliores* as riding to battle on horseback, whilst the greater part of the people go to battle on foot.[1]

The *nobiliores* could hardly be other than the *uchelwrs* and *breyrs*, who are described in the Venedotian Code as *horsemen*, just as Cæsar describes the upper class of tribesmen in Gaul as *equites*.

So that it becomes clear, on the one hand, that the *innate boneddig* during the lifetime of the common ancestor of the *wele* to which he belonged remained in a subordinate position with rights of maintenance only, claimed 'by kin and descent,' as a member of the kindred. On the other hand, his succession to the position or property of his father by inheritance he could claim only by *dadenhudd*—*i.e.* by uncovering the family hearth and not by kin and descent.[2]

II. THE PROPERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL TRIBESMAN UNDER THE CYMRIC TRIBAL SYSTEM.

In trying to realise a condition of things quite alien from anything within the experience of modern life it is always needful to guard against misconceptions arising from the ignorance of some material fact, perhaps too common to be mentioned, and only to be known by accident or inference.

An examination of the evidence of the Extents and the Codes has apparently shown that, setting

[1] *Descriptio Kambriæ*, I. cviii.

[2] 'A dadenhudd is not to be sued by kin and descent.' *Venedotian Code*, II. xiii. 2.

aside the possible introduction into the tribe from outside of ideas of private property in land which hardly belong to the tribal system, sufficient of purely tribal arrangements remained at the time of the Extents and the Codes to enable a fair judgment to be formed of the character and structure of tribal society and its connection with the occupation of land.

Comparison with other tribal systems.

So far as relates to the tribal occupation of land, the main facts elicited by the foregoing inquiry seem to be that the bundle of rights which approached most nearly to ownership were vested in the chiefs of kindreds and the heads of the family groups called *weles*, whilst the common herd of tribesmen were in the subordinate condition of possessing only the *cyvarwys* or right of maintenance.

The importance of this conclusion lies in the fact that it gives us a valuable economic point of comparison with other tribal systems, proving that the Cymric tribal system, in its primitive form, belonged to an early stage of economic development.

Cymric *weles* most resemble the patriarchal family with the *patria potestas*.

It can hardly be doubted that the Welsh *weles* resemble in their structure much more closely the 'patriarchal family' than what is known as the 'joint family' with its joint ownership under a chief who is only *primus inter pares*.

It seems to belong to the more archaic of the two systems.

Now, it has always been one of the mysteries even of the Roman *patria potestas* how the individuals under it, including all unemancipated sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons and their wives, were provided for.

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Maintenance under the *patria potestas.* The *peculium* of its subordinate members.

Sir Henry Maine, in his lectures on Ancient Law many years ago, suggested that the representative ownership of the head of the *patria potestas* 'must have been co-extensive with a liability to provide for all the members of the brotherhood out of the common fund.'[1] If in the case of slaves under the *patria potestas* there grew up by degrees the recognition of the *peculium*, how much more should not something like private property have become recognised in the sons and their descendants!

The *peculium* of the Cymric *innate boneddig.*

It is worth while to examine further, in the light of this suggestion, into the question of the *da* or chattels of the individual tribesmen in Wales.

The fact that the payment of *galanas* was distributed amongst the kindred in stated proportions shows that they had individual property, probably mostly in cattle, wherewith to make payment.

The fact that in the Denbigh Extent the *tunc* payable by the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was distributed among the sub-*weles* and gavells composing it points in the same direction.

The fact that on the marriage of a daughter half a brother's share of the chattels was given with her *guaddol* confirms the same thing.

Let us follow these chattels given with the wife as her *guaddol*, and see in what it consisted.

> If a man take a wife by gift of kindred and leave her before the end of seven years, let him pay her *agweddi* to her.[2]
>
> . . . If she be left after the end of seven years, let there be an equal sharing between them, unless the privilege of the husband entitle him to more.

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[1] *Ancient Laws*, p. 145.

[2] That is, return to her the *agweddi* paid by her father to her husband on consummation of her marriage. *Dimetian Code*, II. viii. 73.

If they be separated by death everything is to be equally shared between them.[1]

In the Venedotian Code the property to be divided is defined as '*everything belonging to them.*'[2]

The wife is to divide and the husband is to choose of the things which the law shall not share between them.

Division of goods between husband and wife.

Certain things were specially named as to be given to the husband and certain other things to the wife.

The swine to the husband and the sheep to the wife, [or] if there be only one kind they are to be shared.

If there be sheep and goats, the sheep to the husband and the goats to the wife. . . .

Of the children, two shares to the father and one to the mother: the oldest and youngest to the father and the middlemost to the mother.

The household furniture is to be thus shared.

All the milking vessels except one pail go to the wife.

All the dishes except one dish go to the wife.

The wife is to have the car and the yoke to convey her furniture from the house.

The husband is to have all the drinking vessels.

The husband the riddle, the wife the small sieve.

The husband the upper stone of the quern, the wife the lower.

The clothes that are over them to the wife; the clothes that are under them to the husband . . .

To the husband the kettle, the bed coverlet, the bolster of the dormitory, the coulter, the fuel axe, the auger, the settle, and all the hooks save one.

To the wife the pan, the trivet, the broad axe, the hedge bill, the ploughshare, all the flax, the linseed, the wool, the house bag with its contents except gold and silver (which are to be shared).

If there be webs, they are to be shared.

The yarn balls to the children (if any); if none, then shared.

The husband is to have the barn and all the corn aboveground and underground.

The husband the poultry and one of the cats, the rest to the wife.

The provisions are thus to be shared:

To the wife the meat in the brine and the cheese in the brine; and after they are hung up to the husband.

[1] *Gwentian Code*, II. xxix. [2] *Venedotian Code*, II. i. 1–6.

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> To the wife the vessels of butter in cut, the meat in cut, and the cheese in cut.
>
> To the wife as much of the meal as she can carry between her arms and knees from the storeroom into the house.[1]

That this description of the sharing belongs to the ordinary married tribesman seems to be clear, as the statement goes on to say:

> If the husband be privileged, let him show his privilege before the sharing, and after he shall have obtained his privilege let there be a sharing as we have said above.

This description of the chattels of husband and wife is graphic evidence of individual property in chattels on the part of the ordinary tribesman who has no privilege, *i.e. is not an uchelwr*, or a landed person.

As there is no mention of the cattle which presumably were the main part of the *da* of the tribesman and of the *guaddol* of the wife, they were presumably equally divided. The mention of the ploughshare and omission of mention of the oxen wherewith the five free erws of the husband's *cyvarwys* must have been ploughed, and with which he joined with his fellows in coaration, confirm this conclusion.

The *innate boneddig* is a dairy farmer.

But whatever may have been the rights in these respects of husband and wife, it is clear that the household of the married tribesman was that of a little dairy farmer with separate homestead, chiefly engaged in making butter and cheese; but with a car and yoke of oxen for carrying and ploughing, with corn crops growing on his five free erws, as well as corn in the bin which, for household use, was

[1] *Venedotian Code*, II. i.

ground by the quern, or at the chieftain's mill, into flour. CHAP. IV.

And thus his maintenance was not provided by his sharing in a common meal, or receiving doles in money or in kind from the common purse or produce of the kindred, but the result of his own labour and use of the cattle and *cyvarwys* which was received as his tribesman's right on his coming of age and assuming a tribesman's responsibilities.

His *cyvarwys* the nest egg of his *peculium*.

It would seem, therefore, that his *da* and his *cyvarwys* were the nest-egg, as it were, of his *peculium*, and that he might become rich or poor by his good fortune and his thrift or the want of them.

The *peculium* not inconsistent with the patriarchal family.

Be this as it may, the lesson to be learned is, no doubt, that the possession of a *peculium* of private property in cattle and chattels was not inconsistent with the Welsh tribal system even in the archaic stage of the 'patriarchal family' or *gwely*.

There is an example of the same thing under the Hebrew patriarchal system so apt that it may well be used as an illustration.

It occurs in the story of Achan and his stolen wedge of gold, given in Joshua vii.

Example under the Hebrew patriarchal system.

> So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken.
>
> And he brought the families of Judah; and he took the family of the Zarhites.
>
> And he brought the family of the Zarhites man by man; and Zabdi was taken.

Zabdi is the first individual named, and he thus was probably the oldest living ancestor and head of a household (LXX οἶκος)—*i.e.* he was the great-

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grandfather, head of his *gwely*. What follows, therefore, reveals the interior of the Hebrew household.

> And he brought his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, was taken.

Achan, therefore, was the grandson of Zabdi, the chief of the household.

The guilt of Achan was acknowledged.

> When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight [*i.e.* a Greek *maneh* in weight], then I coveted them, and took them; and behold they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it.

Achan, therefore, was a married tribesman with a tent of his own; he was a little farmer with a family of sons and daughters who were great-grandchildren of Zabdi the chief of the household. He possessed also a *peculium* of cattle and chattels.

> And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had; and they brought them unto the valley of Achor. . . . And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day.

The wife is not mentioned. She presumably went back to her kindred.

III. THE APPLICATION OF THE GRADES OF KINDRED TO MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRIME.

Each tribesman surrounded by a halo

The organised kindreds under the chiefs of kindred and the *gwelys* occupying land forming groups round which metaphorically a ring fence might be drawn,

containing respectively kindred to the ninth and to the fourth degree, must not be confounded with the relations who to the fourth, the seventh and the ninth degree, were liable for the *saraad* and *galanas*.

The kindred as a whole was indeed responsible for the crimes of its members to the kindred whose member had been slain or injured. But within the kindred, as we have seen, the payment fell upon the actual slayer and his nearest relations.

Each tribesman is individually the centre of concentric rings of relationship extending to both paternal and maternal relatives within certain degrees, and as he lives and moves amongst his fellow tribesmen he carries, so to speak, around him a halo of responsibility, shading off as the degrees of relationship become more distant. Every tribesman is surrounded by others who are responsible for him in various degrees, and each of whom has his own particular halo of responsibility surrounding him. All within his particular halo are in different degrees liable for his frolics and his crimes, and he is reciprocally liable for each one of theirs in settled proportions.

Thus the whole society is knit together by an infinite number of crossing and intersecting threads of mutual guarantee and liability, from the meshes of which no tribesman can escape.

Even if the tribesman should emigrate beyond the bounds of the district of the kindred or lordship to which he belongs, he does not thereby cut the thread of liability.

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Whoever shall pay *galanas*, if the whole of his kindred be in the same country (*gulat*[1]) with him, full payment is required of him by the end of a fortnight; if the kindred be scattered in several other countries a delay of a fortnight is right in respect to each country.[2]

This rule, however, does not seem to have prevailed as between the four greater divisions of Wales.

Should an innate *boneddig* of Powys be in Gwynedd, or one from Gwynedd be in Powys, and become subject to *galanas*, and his family kindred should not be in the country (*gulat*) with him, although many relations should, it is right for him to pay *galanas*, and to bring these along with him . . . and it shall be shared according to the number of his kindred that may be in the country.[3]

The liability extended to maternal relations and so bound kindreds together.

The liability has already been mentioned, not only of maternal relations, but also of sisters and female cousins, to assist in the payment of *galanas*. The result must have been to bind together, not only individuals, but kindreds also, by the ties of a common liability.

At first sight it may seem strange that females should be liable at all, but a moment's consideration will show that it was in harmony with the position of women in other respects under the tribal system. We have seen that the daughter, no less than the son, ceased to be supported by the father on attaining the age of puberty. She, too, had her separate right of maintenance under tribal arrangements, and if she married she was entitled to her *gwaddol*. Rights and obligations generally go together.

Why women paid *galanas*.

And if it be asked why had women this position in the kindred, the answer is not far to seek. It is found in an exceptional case, in which there was no

[1] In the *Venedotian Code* 'lordship,' *arglwydiaeth*.

[2] *Gwentian Code*, II. viii. 11.

[3] *Venedotian Code*, III. i. 28.

liability, viz. when it had ceased to be possible for a woman to have children. CHAP. IV.

A woman does not pay spear-penny, for she has not a spear, but her distaff only, neither do clerks pay it; and a woman does not pay *galanas* if she make oath that she shall have no more children, neither do clerks pay it: and it is not paid by a boy under fourteen years of age.[1]

Another version has it thus:

And females and clerks shall pay it (*galanas*) unless they deny that they shall ever have children, *for they shall pay for their children.*

Here, then, is the reason why women had their place in the arrangements of the kindred. It was in right of their children, and because they might have children, that their place in the kindred was reserved. So long as it was possible for them to have children they were necessary links in the chain of consanguinity. Without them the chain would lose its continuity.

The mutual responsibility of kinsmen for *saraad* and *galanas*, graduated according to nearness of kin to the murdered man and the criminal, reveals more clearly than anything else the extent to which the individual was bound by innumerable meshes to his fixed place in the tribal community—the extent to which, under the tribal system, individual freedom was sunk in the solidarity of the tribe.

That this solidarity had its origin in the necessities of defence from the wrongs of other and rival kindreds is strongly suggested by the fact that the payment of *galanas* did not apply within the kindred.

[1] *Venedotian Code*, III. i. 14.

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No *galanas* within the kindred. The murderer outlawed.

The murderer of a kinsman had committed a wrong within his kindred. It was not a case for the payment of *galanas*. The passage from the Gwentian Code has already been quoted which states that the hate of the kindred will follow the murderer who cannot be slain. 'Since the living kin is not killed for the sake of the dead kin, everybody will hate to see him.'[1] As we have seen, he became a kin-wrecked man, and fled like an outlaw to seek safety and maintenance as a stranger and a suppliant wherever shelter could be found.

The payment of *galanas* was therefore a matter between two kindreds. It was accordingly exacted in solemn form, at the time of the Codes, through the territorial lords who were the representatives of civil authority.

> The period for *galanas* is a fortnight after being summoned for each lordship wherein they live, to apportion the payment, and twice that time for exacting the payment and to assemble them to pay it. And every lord is to have the exacting third in his own lordship. At three periods and in three thirds the *galanas* is to be paid: two periods for the kindred of the father and one for the kindred of the mother; because two thirds fall upon the kindred of the father, and therefore they are to have two periods. At the first period for the kindred of the father to pay one of their thirds, they are to have the oaths of one hundred of the best men of the other kindred, that their relation is forgiven. And at the second period, on their paying their second third, they are also to have the oaths of another hundred men of the other kindred that their relation is forgiven, and those of the best men of the tribe; and at the third period the kindred of the mother are to pay their third; and then they are to have the oaths of a hundred men of the other kindred, that their relation is forgiven; and everlasting concord is to be established on that day, and perpetual amnesty between them.[2]

Thus the *galanas* was a judicial arrangement of a

[1] *Gwentian Code*, II. xxxix. 54.

[2] *Venedotian Code*, III. i. 16.

casus belli between kindreds. At the time of the Codes it was no longer what it may have been at first, the subject of bargain between two kindreds. It had become a matter of tribal law. The amount was fixed, and the exaction was made by the higher judicial authority representing the tribe or nation of the *Cymry*. There was thus, so to speak, the intervention of a kind of international law and authority superseding the lynch law or blood feud between the kindreds. How early in tribal history this intervention may have existed cannot be known, but, whatever its origin, it added much, doubtless, to the solidarity of tribal society.

The *galanas* a judicial matter between kindreds.

IV. THE GRADES OF ARISTOCRACY IN THE KINDRED AS MARKED BY THE 'GALANAS.'

The rules of *saraad* and *galanas* not only bear witness to the solidarity of the tribe, they also bear witness to the existence of grades of aristocracy within the tribe, and even within the kindred itself.

They prove that under the tribal system the structure of society was rather that of aristocratic gradations of rank than of equality in the modern democratic sense. The Cymric tribes were conquering tribes, treating the conquered or alien races below them as strangers in blood and as belonging to a different race. And a conquering tribe is perhaps hardly likely to recognise equality, even in its own internal relations.

Tribal gradations of rank.

Accordingly, even within the tribe and the kindred the value of one man's life was greater than another's. The amount of payment of *galanas*, *i.e.* for killing a man, is sometimes spoken of in the Codes as his *worth*

Men's lives of different grades of worth.

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(*guerth*)—the same word being used for the worth of the *brenhin*, or head chieftain, as is used for the worth of a cow or a kettle.

The gradations in the *galanas* thus reveal the grades of worthiness of the several classes in the tribe.

The worth of the *brenhin*.

Thus, to begin with the *brenhin*, or king. The following is from the Venedotian Code:

> The worth of the king is his *saraad* threefold. . . .
> The *saraad* of the King of Aberffraw is to be paid thus:
> A hundred cows from each *cantref* in his dominion and a white bull with red ears to every hundred cows, and a rod of gold equal in length to himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as the nail of a ploughman who has been a ploughman for seven years. Gold is paid only to the King of Aberffraw.[1]

Of others of the royal family and household.

The *saraad* and *galanas* of the queen were one third that of the king.[2] The worth of the *edling*, or designated successor to the *brenhin*, was also one third of the worth of the *brenhin*.[3] The chief of the *brenhin's* household, being also a son of his, was likewise of one third the *brenhin's* worth. The worth of the king's steward was nine score and nine cows—*i.e.* 189 cows.[4] The worth of the other royal officers was six score and six cows—*i.e.* 126 cows.[5] But the worth of the baking woman and the laundress of the court was only one half of the worth of their brothers.

These officers, even though originally strangers, were free by reason of their office, and their worth (126 cows) seems thus to be the normal worth of the free tribesman.

But setting aside the official class and looking

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[1] *Venedotian Code*, I. ii.
[2] *V.C.* iii.
[3] *V.C.* I. v.
[4] *V.C.* I. vii.
[5] *V.C.* I. x. &c.

within the kindreds, even the tribesmen were not all of one worth.

The grades of worthiness among tribesmen and strangers.

According to the Venedotian Code, the following were the grades of worthiness.[1]

The chief of kindred	189 cows.
The *uchelwr*	126 cows.
Man with a family without office	84 cows.
The innate *boneddig*	63 cows.
The *alltud* of the *brenhin*	63 cows.
The *alltud* of the *uchelwr*	31½ cows.
The bondman (*caeth*) of this island, one pound of silver, *i.e.*	4 cows.
The bondman from beyond sea, 1½ lb. *i.e.*	6 cows.

The *galanas* of a woman was half the *galanas* of her brother,[2] just as her share in her father's goods (*da*) was half a brother's share.[3]

According to the Gwentian Code the grades of payment were virtually the same as those of North Wales, except that the worth of the chief of kindred was 567 cows and that of the members of his family 189 cows.

The Dimetian Code follows the Gwentian Code.

In both the latter Codes the *breyr* takes the place of the *uchelwr* with the same worth, viz. 126 cows.

This worth of the *uchelwr* or *breyr* seems, therefore, to represent the worth of the full or typical free tribesman, whilst that of the mere innate *boneddig* was only one half of it, the same as that of the stranger settled on the chieftain's land, and double that of the stranger on the land of the *uchelwr* or *breyr*.

Thus the youth born into the tribe, who was an

[1] *V.C.* III. i. [2] *V.C.* II. i. 16. [3] *V.C.* II. i. 64.

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innate boneddig, notwithstanding that his blood was pure to the ninth degree—that is to say, that he was the ninth in the line of unbroken descent from Cymric parents—on attaining fourteen, and receiving his *cyvarwys*, did not jump all at once into complete equality of communal value and rights in a republic whose members were all 'free and equal.' Provision was made, as we have seen, for his maintenance as a member of the kindred, but he was only a subordinate member. His worth was only half that of the *uchelwr*, and the same as that of the baking woman and laundress of the Court.

His worth was raised from 63 to 84 cows in North Wales when he became a family man, but he might live and die without becoming an *uchelwr*.

Hence the evidence of the rules relating to *saraad* and *galanas*, like those of land-occupation, prove that the structure of tribal society was patriarchal and aristocratic and not republican.

The three kinds of men.

Thus several lines of evidence patiently followed have led to the same conclusion. And now at last it becomes easy to understand a statement of the Dimetian Code,[1] which, though at first sight strange and paradoxical, may now be recognised as summing up the whole truth in a nutshell.

> There are three kinds of persons—a *brenhin*, a *breyr* [or *uchelwr*] and a *villein*, with their *aelodeu* (*i.e.* 'relatives,' literally 'members').

Under the tribal system the *wele* is the unit. The *brenhin* and the members of his *wele* form the

[1] *D.C.* I. v. 8. See also *Venedotian Code*, II. i. 32, where, in reference to the *agweddi*, the three classes are the *brenhin*, the *gwrda*, and the *aillt*.

royal and ruling class. The *breyrs* or *uchelwrs*, heads of *weles* with the *innate boneddigs* under them, form the second class of free tribesmen. The *villeins*, or strangers in blood, form the third class; and beneath all these were the *caeths*, or slaves, who could be bought and sold.

The solidarity of tribal society.

The extraordinary solidarity of the kindreds and the tribe—a solidarity to which history bears ample testimony—was gained at the expense of the freedom and equality of the individual tribesmen. And little as the Codes reveal to us of the actual condition of the rank and file of Cymric tribesmen, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the easy possibility of oppression on the part of the chieftains and *uchelwrs*. It is easy to see how, if such was the structure of the Gallic tribes described by Cæsar, his description of tribal society might well be, in measure at least, typical of tribal society generally in its early stages.

Liability to oppression.

It might, under the pressure of want on the part of the tribesmen, or the unscrupulous use of power on the part of the *uchelwrs* or higher chieftains, easily come to pass that the mass of tribesmen, with their bare rights of maintenance and a *peculium* subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, elsewhere than in the Gaul of Cæsar's description might become almost the serfs of the *uchelwrs*, or, as he describes them, the *servi* of the *equites*.

V. CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT.

There is one other test to which may finally be put the correctness of the conclusion come to on the evidence of the Codes with reference to the subordinate position as regards rights in land and responsi-

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bility for crime of the ordinary tribesman in the *wele* to which he belonged.

The escheats in the Denbigh Extent.

The evidence of the escheats recorded in the Denbigh Extent has been adduced as proof that the landed rights of the *weles* were mainly undivided rights of occupation and grazing. The escheats in respect of members who died *contra pacem* were not of specific acres of land, but of fractions of undivided rights.

And, as we have seen, the surveyors could only arrive at the proportion of the lords in respect of these escheats by what was practically a rule-of-three sum. All the escheated fractions in a given villata added together amounted to such and such a proportion of the whole. The acreage of the whole villata was so many acres. The lord's proportion of those acres in respect of the escheats was so and so, and he could, by rough justice, seize upon an area so ascertained, inclose it, and let it out on the English fashion to his own tenants.

The lord claimed a proportion equal to the total of the escheated fractions in a district.

But, this being so, why may it not be said that the fact of a man dying *contra pacem*, followed by the escheat to the lord of a fractional share in the landed rights of the *wele*, proves that as a subordinate member of the *wele* to which he belongs he was already in possession of his proper share in those landed rights, instead of having only his right of maintenance as the Codes seem to imply? How otherwise can it be that a son or a grandson who has not yet 'ascended' to the privilege of his father or grandfather has a share which could escheat? Does not this show that the patriarchal character of the Cymric *wele*, on which so much stress has been laid, had at least

If a tribesman had only a right of maintenance how could he have a share which could escheat?

vanished from actual practice at the time of the Extent? And, if so, may it not fairly be doubted whether the system described in the Codes ever was more than an imaginary system, all very well on paper, but never in actual use?

Does the Extent show that he had a joint share in the land or rights of the *wele*?

These questions can only be met fairly by a further examination into the actual facts of the escheats as described in the Extent. This invaluable document will once more prove the safest guide to the true understanding of the Codes.

If, in the case of a death *contra pacem*, the escheat was of the particular fraction of rights belonging to the individual tribesman so dying, then the Extent must be admitted to be at variance with the Codes and Laws.

If, however, on close examination it should be found that the responsibility for the escheats was cast on the *wele* as a whole, then the evidence of the Extent must be allowed to confirm in a remarkable manner the patriarchal character of the *wele* as described in the Codes.

What are the facts?

One-sixth exactly of the *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was escheat,

Now, if the reader will refer to the summary given above of the *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, he will find that there had been two escheats, viz.:— (1) $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gavell of Ken' ap Risshard ap Lauwarghe, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{36}$ of the original *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, and (2) $\frac{5}{6}$ of the gavell of David ap Kendalo ap Lauwarghe, *i.e.* $\frac{5}{36}$ of the original *wele* of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk.

Now, the two together make up $\frac{6}{36}$, so that exactly one-sixth of the original *wele* had escheated to the lord for deaths *contra pacem* of members of this *wele*.

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and apportioned among the tribesmen of the *wele.*

The natural inference is that one-sixth of the original *wele* was adjudged after the war to be escheat, and that it was apportioned by arrangement within the kindred in the proportion of $\frac{1}{36}$ to the family of one of the grandsons, and $\frac{5}{36}$ to the family of one of the others; the families of the other four grandsons being free from any part of it. This seems on the face of the figures more likely than that the rights of the individuals who had died *contra pacem* should have added up to an exact sixth of the whole right of the *wele.*

The case of the *wele* of Canon ap Lauwarghe,

Turning next to the summary of the villata of Prees, and taking first the escheats within the *progenies* or *wele* of Canon ap Lauwarghe, we have the following fractions:—

$\frac{7}{18}$ of a gavell	=	$\frac{14}{36}$	of a gavell.
$\frac{1}{4}$ „ „	=	$\frac{9}{36}$	„ „
$\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ gavell	=	$\frac{4}{36}$	„ „
a whole $\frac{1}{2}$ gavell	=	$\frac{18}{36}$	„ „

Adding these fractions together, the total of the escheats equals $\frac{45}{36}$ of a gavell. Now, as there were $4\frac{1}{2}$ gavells belonging to the *progenies* of Canon ap Lauwarghe, $\frac{45}{162}$ or $\frac{10}{36}$ of his *wele* was escheat.

and the *wele* of Pythle ap Lauwarghe.

There were 8 *weles* embraced in the *wele* of Pythle ap Lauwarghe, of which one whole *wele* was escheat and $\frac{3}{10}$ of all the other seven, making together $\frac{31}{10}$ of $\frac{1}{8}$, *i.e.* $\frac{31}{80}$ of the original *wele* of Pythle.

These were parts of the original *wele* of their father, and the escheats

These cases do not seem at first sight to be evidence either way; but when it is considered that Canon ap Lauwarghe and Pythle ap Lauwarghe were brothers it becomes obvious that they were sharers in their father's original *wele*, so that if these fractions of $\frac{10}{36}$ and $\frac{31}{80}$—which in themselves suggest nothing

—turn out to be divisions of an even fraction of the whole original *wele* of Lauwarghe, the father of Canon and Pythle, just as in the last case, the evidence will confirm the fact of the escheat having been thrown on the whole original *wele*.

from the two make one-third of the original *wele*.

Now, $\frac{10}{36}$ of Canon's *wele* and $\frac{31}{180}$ of Pythle's *wele* equal $\frac{5}{36}$ and $\frac{31}{1440}$ of their father's *wele*; and, added together, these fractions amounted to $\frac{479}{1440}$—*i.e.* only $\frac{1}{1440}$ short of one even third of the original *wele*. The inference consequently must be that after the wars it had been adjudged that one-third of the original *wele* should be regarded as escheat, and, as a matter of fact, it was impossible to allot this one-third according to the tribal rules as to the responsibility of the families of tribesmen more exactly than was done in the fractions above-mentioned.

The same conclusion is arrived at when the internal division is considered. Take the case of the *progenies* of Pythle. Pythle was presumably dead at the date of the Extent, because his sons are recorded as the heads of *weles*. One of these sons is dead *contra pacem*, perhaps without sons, and the whole of his *wele* is escheat. There are seven other sons' *weles* to bear their share of the remainder of the escheat. They divide the rest of what falls to Pythle's share equally—*i.e.* $\frac{3}{10}$ of their rights are given up as escheat by each of the seven. How is it possible that exactly $\frac{3}{10}$ of the members of each of these *weles* had died *contra pacem*? They are evidently sharing a common liability which had fallen upon the original wele to which they belonged.

The liability for deaths *contra pacem* was thus charged on the

So far, therefore, from the evidence of the

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original *wele* as a whole.

escheats of the Denbigh Extent clashing with that of the Codes as to the patriarchal character of the *weles*, it seems to confirm it in a remarkable manner, and to show that even so late as the conquest of North Wales the ordinary free tribesman of the Denbigh district was not treated as an individual owner of a fractional share in the landed rights of his family, but as a subordinate member of a *wele*, whose head was responsible in his representative character for the misdeeds of all his descendants to the fourth degree of descent.

The individual tribesmen were therefore treated as members of a *patria potestas* and not as joint-owners

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION TO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN BLOOD.

I. THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF STRANGERS.

A good deal has already been said with regard to the relations to the tribe of the strangers in blood.

Want of blood the secret of the stranger's position.

If blood relationship was the tie which bound the kindreds of tribesmen together, and if the want of Cymric blood made the gulf between the tribesmen and strangers in blood, the refusal to recognise any efficient blood relationship as between strangers was the key to their legal condition under the tribal system. It was as though the tribesman was so conscious of the strength of the tie of his own blood relationship that he was blind to any other but his own. Or possibly his knowledge of the strength of that tie made him dread the growth of a similar tie amongst others of alien blood.

It is significant that the ties which were recognised, and even encouraged within cautious limits, were those which bound the stranger to the tribesman, and not those which would bind him to his fellow stranger. And no doubt from the point of view of the tribal system there was political wisdom in the instinct which set itself against what would help the non-

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tribesmen to organise themselves into a too powerful subject tribe.

Each stranger under a lord.

Under Welsh tribal custom each stranger was individually subject to some Cymric superior and protector, who might, or might not, as we shall see, have proprietary rights over him. A tie of some kind always was formed between him and his Cymric superior, but, whatever it might be, it did not necessarily imply anything in the nature of bondage or serfdom, however easily it might grow into it.

He was not therefore a serf.

Even if something like the relation of lordship and serfdom ultimately grew out of it, as the phraseology of the surveys would suggest had been the case, still, before we can understand its nature we must examine how it arose under the tribal system and by what tribal rules it was regulated. It is the more necessary to examine this point carefully, as it may possibly help to throw some light upon the origin and original nature of manorial serfdom.

The surveys have already made us familiar with the hamlets of so-called villein or bond tenants, holding under what the 'Record of Carnarvon' describes as a tenure of the nature of *trefgevery*.

Placed in a *maertref*, or *taeog-tref*, in 'tref-gevery,' without rights of inheritance;

These tenants are described in the Codes as *taeogs*, or *aillts*, and they are sometimes located on the *maertref* of the Prince, and sometimes in *taeog-trefs*, *i.e.* in separate *trefs*, and not mixed up with the tribesmen.

Further, the description in the Codes of the nature of their tenure (which has already been quoted) was found to correspond with the description given in the 'Record of Carnarvon' of land held in *trefgevery*.

The peculiar point about these *taeog-trefs* was,

it will be remembered, the joint responsibility of the *taeogs* in each *tref*, or hamlet, for the services, or payments in lieu of them. In some cases on the manor of Aberffraw they seemed to be arranged in groups of nine, probably for this purpose.

but with absolute equality of rights.

The peculiar feature of the *taeog-tref* as described in the Codes was the entire absence of any rights of inheritance, all the *taeogs* sharing equally in the land, sons having separate *tyddyns* during the lifetime of their fathers, and sharing equally along with the rest, excepting the youngest son, who remained with his father and succeeded to his *tyddyn* on his death.

The equality was carried so far as to provide that no one could commence the co-ploughing until every *taeog* in the *tref* had found a place for his oxen in the common ploughs.[1]

This was the typical tenure for strangers in blood.

Recognising that this peculiar kind of tenure was the natural result of carrying out the tribal principle that there was no true kinship and inheritance among strangers in blood, it becomes obvious that it was the typical kind of tenure for non-tribesmen, and this was so whether they were settled in the *maertref* of the *Brenhin*, or Prince, or in separate *taeog-trefs* under the regulation of his *maer* and *canghellor*, or scattered over the cantrefs and cymwds under subordinate chieftains or *uchelwrs*. In all cases, as a normal rule, non-tribesmen were placed in regulated *trefs*, of *tir cyfrif*, held in *trefgevery*.

The ordinary class of *taeogs*, or *aillts*, born on the land, whose ancestors had been on the land from generation to generation, to whom the bridge of

[1] *Gwentian Code*, II. xxxv. 5.

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Easily described as *nativi*,

successive marriages with women of Cymric blood was shut out by the humility of their position, who were therefore in North Wales *taeogs* for ever, and in South Wales waiting for the ninth generation before there was any chance of rising into a higher status —these hereditary *taeogs*, or *aillts*, would naturally be described by the makers of the surveys as *nativi* and *bond tenants*.

And it was perfectly natural that new comers, strangers in blood, seeking protection and settlement, should, as a rule, be placed in such a *taeog-tref* and become *nativi* like the rest.

but not all treated alike.

But further examination very soon makes it clear that all strangers and new comers were not treated alike.

Without entering into the question of terminology and the difference between *aillts* and *taeogs* and other strangers in blood, it can readily be seen that the new comers might belong to different classes.[1]

The kin-broken tribesman

Take the case of the *car-shattered* or *kin-broken* tribesman. For some reason or other he had to leave his kindred. The cause of his leaving might well determine his position in the place where he sought his new home.

If driven by necessity like the 'Prodigal Son' in the parable to take a menial position, to join himself to an *uchelwr*, he would naturally be placed to work in a *taeog-tref*. He might well be contented to perform the services of a *taeog* in return for

[1] Generally the *aillt* of the Venedotian Code seems to correspond with the *taeog* of the others, but not in every case. '*Alltud*' simply means '*stranger*.'

protection and maintenance. He might thus naturally drop into the position of an *aillt* or a *taeog*.

easily became an *aillt* by tonsure,

The word *aillt* is believed to mean 'a shaven or *tonsured* person.'[1] The *tonsure* was indicative of service, and his submission to it would be the outward sign that he had become the 'sworn man' of his protector.

Such might well be the experience of any stranger in humble or abject circumstances, driven by necessity to seek protection. The following passage couples with the '*kin-broken*' man, the illegitimate son disowned by the kin, and the stranger seeking a home in Cymru :—

> 'Strangers and their progeny are *adjudged to be aillts*, and also the reputed son, . . . and evil-doers, *till the end of the ninth descent.*
>
> 'And every aillt and taeog is required to be a sworn man, and appraised to the lord of the territory, and to his proprietary lord, *i.e.* the lord who shall take him under his protection, and grant him land in a taeog-trev. *And an aillt is to be at the will and pleasure of such until he shall attain the descent and privilege of an innate Cymro*, and that is to be attained *by the fourth descendant of his issue by legitimate marriages with innate Cymraeses.*'[2]

and was placed in a *taeog-tref*.

In this passage from the Triads, which obviously refers to South Wales, the new comers are all described as located in *taeog-trefs*. And if it stood alone we might assume that admission into the *taeog-tref* was the only recognised mode of dealing with strangers in blood.

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[1] *Aillt* means in old Welsh *shaven* or *tonsured*, the verb being in modern Welsh *eillio* (to shave), Irish *altan* (a razor). In Manx *inney-veayl* is a word for bond-woman (as in the case of *Hagar*, in the Biblical story), and it literally means the 'bald or cropped girl.' I am indebted to my friend Professor Rhys for this information.

[2] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 67.

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Some favoured strangers placed on land and grow into tribesmen.

But from other passages it is clear that there were classes of strangers, probably in better circumstances, who were not thus placed once for all in a *taeog-tref* to take their chance as ordinary *taeogs*. These new comers were placed upon portions of the Brenhin's or *uchelwr's* waste to work themselves or their descendants in the fourth degree into the position of tenants *adscripti glebæ*, holding in kindreds and families, but still without the privilege of tribesmen. There is a passage which throws a flood of light into the question of the position, under the tribal system, of this class of strangers. Possibly it refers only to *alltuds* in the strict meaning of the term, but it shows how tribal principles and tribal analogies were applied to such cases.

> 'If an alltud [stranger] become a *man* to an uchelwr, and be with him until death; and the son of the alltud be with the son of the uchelwr, and the grandson of the alltud with the grandson of the uchelwr, and the great-grandson of the alltud with the great-grandson of the uchelwr, that fourth uchelwr will be a *priodawr* over the great-grandson of the alltud, and his heirs [will be] *priodorion* of the heirs of that grandson for ever, and, thenceforth, they are not to go to the country whence they are derived, away from their proprietary lords, on account of their having lost the time when they were to go if they willed to go.'[1]

Remaining four generations, they become *adscripti glebæ*, and subject to family proprietorship.

This passage shows that the tribal rule that proprietorship in land was not attained till the occupation had continued till the fourth generation, was applied also to a lord's proprietorship of an *alltud*. If the *alltud* and his descendants remained on the land of the *uchelwr* for four generations, the great-grandchildren of the *alltud* became *adscripti glebæ* for ever after. And so complete was the

[1] *W.L.* V. ii. 126 (middle 14th century).

proprietorship thus established that it had become subject to the law of family possession under the further application of tribal rules; so that a father could not free the stranger for longer than his own life without his son's consent.

> 'No one can liberate an alltud, except during his own life, except by his departure to his own country, and although he may liberate him in his day, the claim will be fresh for the son, after his father, when he shall be minded to claim.'[1]

But there is another important inference to be drawn from the passage first quoted, viz. that any time before the fourth generation the *alltud* and his descendants could leave the *uchelwr's* service if they pleased.

Accordingly in another passage it is expressly stated that the *alltud* could avoid coming under permanent proprietorship by removal at intervals from one *uchelwr* to another.

> 'If an alltud when he comes from his country become a *man* to an uchelwr, and from him go to another, and he proceed, and his son after him, and his grandson, and his great-grandson, and his *goresgynydd*, from one uchelwr to another, without settling in any place more than another, let them be under the privilege of alltuds so long as they shall be thus without settling.'[2]

These passages make no special mention of any separate location on land. They may be of later date than the Codes. But the following passage from the Venedotian Code deals directly with the case of *alltuds* located on land, and it shows that they were dealt with on the same tribal principles.

It explains the acquisition by the *alltud* or his descendants of the privilege of permanent occupation

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[1] *W.L.* V. ii. 95.

[2] *Id.* ii. 125.

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of land, if they shall have occupied the same land under an *uchelwr* till the fourth generation. And it also explains that at the same moment in which the fourth man becomes a *priodawr*, he also becomes *subject to the proprietorship* of the *uchelwr*, and thenceforth practically *adscriptus glebæ*.

> 'And as the alltuds of the King become ***priodorion*** in the fourth man after they shall have been placed on the King's waste, so also the alltuds of the uchelwrs become ***priodorion*** in the fourth man if they have occupied the same land under them for so long a time, and from thenceforth they are not to go from the uchelwrs, for they are *priodorion* under them, and they are not to take their propriety, one from the land from whence they originate, and another here.
>
> 'After they are become *priodorion*, their tyddyns on the land, and land to them also they are to have, and their land, excepting such, to be arable among them.' [1]

It is further added :—

> 'If the alltuds will go away from their lords *before* they become *priodorion*, they are to leave half their goods to them.' [2]

thus confirming the point of their freedom to move as they pleased till the fourth generation.

These strangers acquire ultimately rights of inheritance.

Whether the first passage quoted might apply or not to strangers placed in *taeog-trefs* of 'register land,' it is clear that the last quoted passage deals with quite another class, *i.e.* with immigrants of a much higher position. These immigrants are strangers in blood. They are placed on the waste of a prince or an *uchelwr* apparently in groups, each with his separate *tyddyn*, and a few erws in croft around it occupied in severalty, and with other land held in common by the group which was to be arable among them cultivated by the co-aration of their common plough-teams. The great-grandchildren of

[1] *Venedotian Code*, II. xvi. 21. [2] *Ibid.*

the original *alltuds* become *priodorion*, and are distinguished from *taeogs* holding in *trefgevery*.

Their kindreds are recognised but they do not become tribesmen. They are on *terra nativa*, and they are *adscripti glebæ*.

But it must not be imagined that in becoming proprietors they also became Cymric tribesmen. Far from it. It is true that the word *priodawr* is applied to them as it is to tribesmen, but instead of being, like the tribesmen, proprietors of tribal rights, they become proprietors on what in the Extents is called *terra nativa*. The fact seems to be that at the moment when, from unbroken residence for four generations, recognition of the rights of kindred was at last conceded, instead of its establishing kinship to the tribe and making them Cymry, it confirmed their subordinate position and deprived them of their freedom of departure from the land for ever.

This process of final recognition of kindred in the families of strangers is thus strictly consistent with tribal policy.

It must not be confused with the exceptional bridges across the gulf between tribesmen and non-tribesmen allowed in South Wales.

The families of these favoured strangers, whose rights of kindred were recognised, remained permanently non-tribesmen, and it is interesting to observe that notwithstanding this the tribal rules as to grades of kinship were recognised as applying to them. At the fourth generation the recognition of kindred began, and the descendant of the original *alltud* became an *alltud* of a kindred. But the kindred was not a perfect one till the '*alltud* of a kindred' had himself great-grandchildren.

They become entitled to a *raith*, or the protection of the oaths their kinsmen.

'If there be an *alltud* of a kindred he is entitled to a *raith* as upon a Cymro. An *alltud* of a kindred is an *alltud* whose parents

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have been in Cymru until there have arisen brothers, cousins, second cousins and third cousins, and nephews to each of those.

'They are not thenceforth to go to the country from whence they originated, because they are a kindred; and there is no person of a kindred who is not entitled to have a *raith* adjudged to him, and that number of persons form a kindred; and there is no one who has not been primarily an advenient man; and all ultimately become proprietors and form kindreds if they continue in Cymru until the fourth descent.' [1]

This passage brings into view another consequence of the recognition of kindred in the case of *alltuds*—another point in which the tribal system was consistent with itself.

One of the rights of the innate Cymro was protection by *raith* of his kindred—the right to call upon his kindred to protect him by their oath.

So long as the *alltud* was without recognition of kindred his oath was not recognised as of full value, because he had no kindred who could swear for him.

'Alltud bondmen can be sold by their lord and given by law, and amends are not to be made for them if they be unlawfully killed, because they have no kindred who can demand it.' [2]

But free *alltuds* had a *worth* or *galanas*,[3] as we have seen. And so soon as they attained the privilege of kindred, their kindred could claim it, and the oaths or *raith* of a kindred had to be recognised.

And the want of numbers of kinsmen was met artificially.

There is a passage which seems to meet the difficulty of want of numbers in the *alltud's* newly-acquired kindred. He was still not a Cymro, and he had no right to call upon any but his kindred to be compurgators with him.

What, then, was he to do if in any case more

[1] *W.L.* V. ii. 144. [2] *W.L.* XI. ii. 2.
[3] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 112.

oaths were required than he had kinsmen to swear for him? This was a difficulty which had to be met. And it seems to have been met by a kind of legal fiction.

> 'There is to be no rejection of the *raith* of an *alltud* when a *raith* of the country does not pertain to him, although persons shall not swear along with him; for let him give his own oath repeatedly for so many persons as ought to swear along with him if he were of a kindred.'[1]

Thus it appears that tribal custom recognised not only kindred, but also the consequence of kindred, in the case of the favoured *alltuds*, who, through residence for four generations on a lord's land, had become *adscripti glebæ*. But it also appears that the recognition of kindred among themselves, instead of making them Cymry, left them in such a legal position as to justify the Norman lawyers and surveyors calling them *nativi*, although, like the tribesmen, they were allowed to form *gwelys* instead of living under the normal tenure of the nature of *trefgevery*.

The *weles* of *nativi* in the surveys.

This explains how we come to find in the Extents of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh, *nativi* living in *weles* like the free tribesmen. Occasionally in the Record of Carnarvon groups of *nativi*, instead of holding in *trefgevery*, are spoken of as holding by a tenure of the nature of *treveloge*—*i.e.* in *weles* with the rights of inheritance which follow the recognition of kindred.[2]

In the Denbigh Extent the prevalence of *weles* of *nativi* is very general. And this is entirely consistent with the Venedotian Code under which, whilst rights of kindred were recognised at the

[1] *D.C.* II. xvii. 46.

[2] Record of Carnarvon, p. 2. *Bodscathlan.* 'Eadem villa est de natura de Troweloge, et sunt in eadem villa duo Wele nativa, &c.'

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fourth generation, no bridge was allowed across the gulf which separated the stranger from the Cymro, except in the case of officials of the Court who were enfranchised by reason of their office.

Enfranchisement of *weles* of *nativi* after the conquest.

It was not, apparently, till after the conquest that any general enfranchisement took place. And when it did take place the following example shows that it took the form of enfranchisement of the whole *wele* of *nativi*, and not of individuals only.

In the case of this example of a *gwely* of *nativi* it is curious to notice that they are still described as holding 'under the condition of trefgevery.'

Example of the enfranchisement of a *wele*.

'This indenture, made between the venerable Father, Lord John, by grace of God, Bishop of St. Asaph, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph, of the one part, and the *proprietarii et coheredes* of that *lectum* called *Gwely Gwarthhoet*, in the Villa of Bryngwyn, of the other part, *witnesseth* that whereas the aforesaid *proprietarii et coheredes* have ever before this time been called *nativi* and have held their lands and tenements there under the condition of *Trefgyfrif*, the aforesaid venerable Father, the Dean and Chapter, for themselves and their successors, at the entreaty of the aforesaid *proprietarii et coheredes*, have liberated both them and their heirs and their lands and tenements from that condition henceforth, and have exonerated them for ever, and have made them in all things of the same condition as the *proprietarii et coheredes* of that *lectum* called *Gwely Ithelwr* being in the same villa, so that the aforesaid *proprietarii et coheredes* of the aforesaid *lectum* called *Gwely Gwarthhoet*, and their heirs in future for ever shall pay to the lord . . . marks of annual rent on the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James for having this concession, whereas before they have been wont to pay five shillings of this rent on the feast aforesaid. In witness whereof the aforesaid parties have respectively placed their seals to this Indenture with these witnesses. Robert ap Gruffud, at that time Raglot of the Lord Bishop, Lewelyn ap Madoc Loyt, then steward of the same; Eden Moel ap Bleth Duy, then Ringildre at the same place; Eynon ap Ken ap Bleth . . . and many others.

'Given at St. Asaph on the Lord's Day next after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, A.D. 1355.' [1]

[1] For the Latin of this document, which is in the possession of Colonel Howard, of Wygfair, see Appendix E.

II. THE LINK OF FOSTERAGE BETWEEN TRIBESMEN AND NON-TRIBESMEN.

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The chiefs and *uchelwrs* place their sons with *aillts* to foster

That the custom of placing strangers upon the waste until their successors became proprietors in the fourth man was one common to all three of the Welsh divisions is clear from the following statements of the Codes. They are useful, also, in showing how the Venedotian *uchelwr* and his *aillt* corresponded with the Dimetian and Gwentian *breyr* and his *taeog*. They further show that not only was it a common thing for *aillts* and *taeogs* to be placed upon waste land, and to become proprietors, but also that where such was the case *uchelwrs* or *breyrs* placed their sons with them to foster.

i. p. 195. *Venedotian Code.*	i. p. 548. *Dimetian.*	i. p. 767. *Gwentian.*
If an uchelwr place his son to be reared with an aillt of a lord, by the permission or sufferance of the lord, for a year and a day, that son is to have a son's share of the aillt's land, and, ultimately, of his property.	If the taeog of the King take the son of a breyr to foster (*ar vaeth*), with the King's permission, such a foster son is to participate in the inheritance of the taeog, like one of his own sons. —Dewi of Brevi.	If a taeog take the son of a breyr to foster, with the permission of the lord, such a son is to participate in the patrimony of the taeog, like one of his own sons.

Importance of fosterage under the tribal system.

These facts, taken together, are additional proof of the anxiety to secure the loyalty of the best class of strangers in blood. In the case of these favoured strangers not only was intermarriage with innate *Cymraeses* allowed in South Wales with consent of the kindreds, and not only were they supplied with land from the waste, and allowed to become proprietors in the fourth man, but further the sons of their lords

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were placed with them to be fostered, and thereby as foster-sons to share with their foster-brothers in the foster-father's inheritance if he had attained to the position of a proprietor.

Giraldus Cambrensis complains that the tie of friendship between foster-brothers was often stronger than the tie of natural kinship between brothers. It was thus that fosterage became so important an incident in the tribal system in Celtic as well as in other countries. It was one of the several means used under the tribal system for the purpose of tying strangers as tightly as possible to the tribe, quite consistently with the tribal policy of keeping the class of strangers in blood as loosely organised as possible *inter se*.

III. FURTHER EVIDENCE FROM 'CELTIC SCOTLAND.'

Various kinds of *nativi* in Scotland.

The resemblance between ancient Celtic custom in Wales and in Scotland, as regards strangers in blood and the stages and methods by which something like serfdom grew out of it, is too marked to be passed by without reference here.

In Celtic Scotland, as in Wales, there were so-called *nativi* or *bondmen* of various kinds and different origin.

There is a remarkable passage in the fragments of laws printed under the heading *Quoniam attachiamenta—De brevi de nativis*,[1] which may be translated as follows :—

> 'There are different kinds of nativi or bond-men.
> 'For some are *nativi, de avo et proavo*, which is vulgarly

[1] Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i. p. 655 (red paging), 291 (black do.).

called *de evo et trevo*, whom he (the lord) will claim to be his *nativi* naturally, by beginning to narrate their ancestors, if their names are known, to wit, of his *great-grandfather*, *grandfather*, and *father*, who are convicted by his saying that they all are his *nativi* in such and such a villa of his, and in a certain place within the said villa on servile land, and that they rendered and did to him and his ancestors servile service for many days and years, and this "nativitas," or bondage, can be proved through the parents of the convicted one, if they are alive, or *per bonam assisam*.

Nativi whose great-grandfathers were so.

'Likewise, there is another kind of bondage, similar to this, where some stranger shall have taken some servile land from some lord doing servile service for the same land, and if he die on the same land, and his son likewise, and afterwards *his* son shall have lived and died on the same land, then all his posterity [*i.e.* his great-grandsons] shall be at the fourth grade altogether in servile condition to his lord, and his whole posterity can be proved in the same way.

Settlement on servile land for four generations makes posterity *nativi*.

'There is a third kind of *nativitas*, or bondage, where some freeman, *pro dominio habendo vel manutenencia* [*i.e.* for protection or maintenance] from some magnate, gives himself up to that lord as his *nativus* or *bondman* in his court by the front hair of his head (*per crines anteriores capitis sui*).'

Freemen become *nativi* by tonsure.

It is not necessary to do more than point out how remarkably the three clauses of this passage coincide with the Welsh evidence that under Celtic custom occupation by strangers in blood of land under a lord for four generations made the great-grandchildren of strangers, who up to that time had been free to leave as they liked, into a family whose posterity were ever after *adscripti glebæ*. They show how in Scotland the hereditary *taeog* or *nativus* was distinguished from the new comer who in open court became the *nativus* of his lord, *per crines anteriores capitis sui*. Whether these words mean *tonsure* and so connect the Scotch *nativus* with the *aillt* or tonsured person of the Welsh codes may be doubted. But tribal touches in what otherwise might be regarded as feudal definitions of serfdom seem to

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suggest connecting links between tribal and feudal custom.

These distinctions are those of Celtic custom,

Mr. Skene, in his chapter on 'The Tribe in Scotland,' remarks with reference to the passages above quoted as follows :—

'These definitions of the different kinds of *nativi* or bondmen may, no doubt, apply to a later period, and be more or less connected with feudal forms, but we may notwithstanding infer that they preserve the characteristics of the servile class in Celtic times ; for although the upper classes may in the Lowland districts have been superseded by Saxon or Norman proprietors holding their lands in feudal tenure, the servile occupiers of the soil, of Celtic race, who were attached to the land, would remain and become the villeins of the feudal lord; and so we find that wherever they appear in the Chartularies they possess Celtic names.'[1]

i.e. custom of ancient Cumbria.

Thus the evidence of the transition from tribal to feudal forms in this respect comes from the two extreme ends, as it were of the ancient *Cumbria*, and it is not the less interesting on that account.

IV. THE RECEPTION INTO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN SOUTH WALES.

Strangers in blood became *adscripti glebæ*.

It has been shown that the recognition of kindred in the case of strangers in blood after residence for four generations on the land of a chieftain or *uchelwr*, so far from making them free tribesmen,

[1] Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 221, 222. Upon the question of tonsure see *Du Cange*, sub voce 'Capilli.'

tied them all the more permanently to the land, so that they became *adscripti glebæ*, or *nativi*.

This applied, according to the evidence of Codes and traditions, both in the northern Cumbria, from which Wales had long been severed, and in Wales itself.

Exception in South Wales.

In South Wales, however, the rule was subject to carefully guarded exceptions.

The fact has several times been alluded to that in South Wales the attainment of the position of a free tribesman was possible by residence in Cymru for nine generations, and could be hastened by repeated intermarriages with 'innate Cymraeses.'

Where it was possible for strangers to become tribesmen.

It may be worth while, before passing from the subject of strangers in blood, to quote one more passage from the Welsh Laws describing this process and having particular regard to the rights to which the stranger attained on becoming a tribesman.[1]

The process by intermarriages.

'This is the mode of regulating those marriages—to wit, the son of an *aillt*, being a sworn man to the lord of the territory who shall marry an innate Cymraes with the consent of her kindred, is, by that marriage, in the privilege of the second degree of kin and descent; to their children attaches the privilege of the third degree; and one of those children, by intermarrying with a Cymraes of legitimate blood, assumes the fourth degree; a son by that marriage stands in the privilege of the fifth degree, and he is the grandchild of the original *aillt*[2]; and that son, by intermarrying with an innate Cymraes, arises to the privilege of the sixth degree of kin, and a son by that marriage or a great-grandson of the original *aillt* is of the seventh degree, and by intermarrying with an innate Cymraes attains to the eighth degree under the privilege of his wife, for it is the privilege of every innate Cymraes to advance a degree for her *aillt* husband with whom she shall intermarry; and the son of this great-grandson by such marriage attains to the privilege of the ninth descent; and therefore he is called a seisor (*goresgynydd*).'

[1] *Welsh Laws*, XIII. ii. 67.

[2] *I.e.* the *aillt* who first marries a Cymraes.

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What did the stranger attain to on becoming a tribesman?

It is important to notice why he is so called, and what it is that he attains to:—

> 'For he seizes (*goresgyn*) his land (*tir*) or his fruition of five free *erws* and his *cyvarwys* and privilege of chief of kindred and every other social right due to an innate Cymro.'

He got his *cyvarwys* and became chief of a new kindred.

That is to say, he becomes a *priodawr*, or tribesman, with right to location upon land and a *cyvarwys*. Further, as he begins a new kindred, so also he becomes its *Chief of Kindred.*

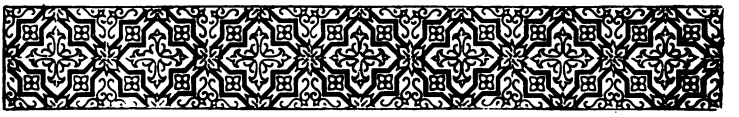
> 'And he becomes the stock of a kindred, or he stands in the privilege of chief of kindred to his progeny, and likewise to his seniors; for such of them as may be living, as father or grandfather or great-grandfather, and not further, obtain in their seisor the privilege of innate Cymry. And he is not in law called the son of his father in suits for land, but his seisor; and he is a seisor to his grandfather and also a seisor to his great-grandfather and a seisor to his uncles, and his cousins, and his second cousins, when they, one or other, shall descend from legitimate marriages.
>
> 'And the seisor becomes chief of kindred to them all after arriving at the full age of manhood; and every one of them is a man and kin (*gwr a char*) to him, and his word is paramount over them one and all . . .'

It would seem, however, that though in this sense the new tribesman ennobled his ancestors and relations so that their blood relationship to him could be recognised, yet they do not thereby all at once become tribesmen with a right to location on land and *cyvarwys* as he has done.

> 'Although they approach the kindred of the seisor and possess their privileges free under the protection and privilege of their chief of kindred, they obtain not their lands (*ni chafant eu tirodd*) except those who individually attain the degree or privilege of the ninth descent—that is, of seisor (*goresgynedd*).'

There seems to be in these statements confirmation of the facts before alluded to as characteristic of the structure of the Cymric tribal society, not

only as regards the tenacity with which the tribal rules of kinship were carried out and applied to the entrance of strangers into the tribe, but also as regards the character of the normal right of the tribesman. The normal right, whether of the *innate boneddig* born into the tribe, or of the stranger in blood on first becoming a tribesman, was not an equal share in certain tribe land, but the right of maintenance—the fruition of five free erws and whatever else was included in his *cyvarwys*.



CHAPTER VI.

CHIEFTAINSHIP IN THE TRIBE.

I. THE GRADES OF CHIEFTAINSHIP.

CHAP. VI. THE fact that the tribe was complex, that it contained besides the kindreds of tribesmen various classes of strangers in blood, combined with the fact of the existence of territorial lordships, naturally gave a dual character to the matter of chieftainship.

From the strictly tribal point of view, the principle of blood relationship might work itself out simply enough.

Tribal gradations of chieftainship.

Beginning with the chief of the *wele*, who was the head of a patriarchal family of kin within the fourth degree of descent, it was a perfectly natural tribal step upwards to the chief of kindred, under whose rule the many households included within the kinship to the ninth degree were bound together into an organised kindred. It was but another perfectly natural step to bind the several kindreds together under the higher chieftain of the larger kindred of the tribe.

But, side by side with this strictly tribal view of the gradations of chieftainship, the Welsh Codes show that there had grown up what, from another point

Gradations of territorial lordships.

of view, look like similar gradations of territorial lordship. The tribal system had evidently found room for the growing power and jurisdiction of a hierarchy of territorial chieftains, very nearly resembling feudal lords, holding courts with legal jurisdiction, and possessed of landed estates in Norman eyes not to be distinguished from manors, on which were settled various classes of tenants which, to Norman eyes, seemed more or less like the different grades of *villani* on English manors. Some of them, as we have seen, were *aillts* and *taeogs*, living in 'registered' or *taeog trefs*; whilst others were specially located on the lord's waste and growing up into kindreds with or without tribal rights.

Thus it would be easy, using words with a conventional meaning, to describe the two principles or influences working side by side in later tribal society (and perhaps from the first) as *tribal* and *feudal*.

These not necessarily of feudal origin.

But by doing so some danger might be run of falling into the error of begging the question at issue. The real question is whether these so-called feudal tendencies were the result of outside feudal influences upon the tribal system, or whether what we call the feudal system in Western Europe may not, itself, turn out to have been in part the result of tendencies engrained in the very nature of tribal society and thus underlying the conditions out of which feudalism grew.

Recurring to the condition of things described in the Codes, there seems in one sense to have been quite a hierarchy of chieftains.

The *brenhin*.

There was the *brenhin*, or King, of Aberffraw, whose chieftainship extended over all Cymru. But,

CHAP. VI. under the Codes, Gwent and Dimetia each had its *brenhin*, subordinate, however, to the *brenhin* of Aberffraw. And each cantref or cymwd had also its chieftain who held courts and had legal jurisdiction of some kind among *uchelwrs* and *breyrs* who, themselves, were heads of kindreds or households, and in some sense petty chieftains with the privilege attached to proprietorship of land.

All this looks at first sight very territorial. And it also was ancient. For

> 'When Howel the Good, brenhin of Cymru, modified the laws of Cymru, he permitted various privileges to various persons in his kingdom, . . . and likewise he permitted every chief (*pennaeth*) to whom there might belong a cymwd, or cantref, or more, to hold a daily royal court of privileged officers, in number as he should deem proper, in a similar manner to himself, and privilege to hold a royal court of pleas in his country among his uchelwrs. . . . And he permitted every uchelwr to hold his own land according to its privilege, and to rule his bondmen according to conditional bondage in South Wales, and perpetual bondage in Gwynedd.' [1]

He reserved to himself, however, all suits pertaining to his crown as *brenhin* and to his relations (*aelodeu*)—*i.e.* members of his royal family.[2]

The words used in various passages in the Codes for the gradations of chieftainship are instructive and indicative of tribal origin.

Sometime *toisech* used for *brenhin*.

In the preface to the Venedotian Code, Howel the Good is in some of the MSS. called the *tewysauc* (*i.e.* *toisech*) of all Cymru; and it goes on to say that he summoned six men from each cymwd in his kingdom (*tehuysokaet*). Very shortly afterwards it is stated that 'the *saraad* of the King (*brenhin*) of Aberffraw is

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[1] *W.L.* X. xiii. 1.

[2] *Id.* reading d. 87.

to be paid thus: a hundred cows for each cantref in his dominion (*argluydyaet*).'[1]

And sometimes *argluyd*,

In the last passage the *brenhin* has authority over an *argluydyaet*, the words king and lord being practically interchanged. In the first passage the king or *tewysauc* (*toisech*) has authority over a *tehuysokaet*. These terms, in their Gaelic form, were used in Ireland and went back, according to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' to early Irish tribal tradition; for it was the mythic *Ollamh Fodla* (who flourished, it is said, twelve centuries B.C.) who appointed a *toisech* over every *tuath* in Ireland.[2]

and sometimes *tigern*.

In the preface to the Dimetian Code the word used for the prince is *brenhin*, and in one MS. *tywysauc*, and his kingdom is called a *teyrnnas* (the same word as the Irish *tigernas*), the dominion of a *teyrn* or *tigerna*, or house-lord. In a further clause in the same Code, Howel is said to be accompanied by the *teyrnedd* or *tigerns* of Cymru in his visit to Rome, thus making a distinction between the *brenhin* or head king and the *tigerns* or subordinate kings.[3]

In another passage of less authority, dealing with the federate country of all Cymru, the same distinction is made between the head king or *brenhin penraith* of all Cymru and the subordinate *tywysawgs* or *toisechs* under him,[4] who, however, were themselves paramount in their own territories. And this *brenhin penraith* is said to be the *hynav* (*eldest*,[5] *most ancient*,

[1] *V.C.* I. ii.

[2] *Skene's Celtic Scotland*, iii. p. 156. The word *Toisech* occurs also in the entries in the margin of the 'Book of Deer,' and means 'first man,' or 'head man.' See *Windisch 'Wörterbuch,' sub voce Tussech.*

[3] *D.C.* preface.

[4] *W.L.* XIII. ii. 64.

[5] Pugh.

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or *ancestor*), *i.e.* the head of the royal or ruling family.

The distinction between the head chieftainship of Aberffraw and the sub-chieftains of the other divisions is maintained in the same way but with different words in another passage:[1]

Under chieftains *maoti-gerns* or *iarlls*.

'Three *mechdeyrn* rule all the *gwladychu* of Cymru, the *brenin* of Aberffraw, and the *arglwydd* of Dinefwr (in Dimetia), and the *arglwydd* of Mathrafal (in Powys).'

Here again the chief of Aberffraw alone is *brenhin*.

In the next sentence all these are called *teyrn*, and their *teyrnas* is said to be thus divided into three parts (*rhan*), but Aberffraw is said to have supremacy over the other two. 'And there are three *yeirll* (*iarlls*)[2] under it (Aberffraw), viz. of Caerllion (Gwent), of Dinefwr (Dimetia), and of Mathrafal (Powys).'

Here the distinction is between the *brenhin* and the subordinate *iarlls*. And there is another passage which states that when, according to the legend, *Maelgwn* became supreme king (*brenhin pennaf*) with Aberffraw for his principal court, the status of the lords of Powys, Dimetia, and Gwent became that of under-chieftains or *iarlls*.[3]

Why, then, it may be asked, are all the chieftains, including Aberffraw, called in the passage above quoted *mechdeyrn*? The word is translated *vicegerent*, and in its etymology it betrays again a tribal source. Like the Latin *dominus*, the word *tigerna* means the head of the house. And whether the word *mechdeyrn*

[1] *W.L.* XIV. iv.

[2] *W.L.* V. ii. 1.

[3] *Id.*

originally meant the sons of the 'tigerna'[1] or whether the prefix had another derivation than son; in either case the connection with the idea of the household is maintained. In Irish the word *oc-thigernd* means literally the *young tigerns*, but it is used also for a *sub-tigern*. Both words suggest that the sub-chieftains were the younger members of the ruling family, of which the head king was the *hynaf* or elder. As in older days the *brenhin* of Aberffraw was in a sense a subordinate king paying tribute to the king of *Lloegyr*, from this point of view he was a *mechdeyrn*.

Were the *mactigerns* younger sons of chieftains?

Another passage states that:—

> 'Three *mechdeyrn* dues arise from all Cymry. To Aberffraw from the other two: (1) from Dinevwr four *tunell* of honey, each containing four *mu*, two *grenneit* in each *mu*, each *grenn* a load (llwyth) for two men on a pole; flour from Gwynva (Powys) in the same manner.
>
> 'Three score and three pounds the King of Aberffraw should pay to the King (*brenhin*) of Lloegyr; then he was called King of London, for there were many kings (*brenhinedd*) formerly in Lloegyr.'[2]

All this may be confused tradition, but Cæsar himself testified to the number of kings in Britain, so that there is every reason to believe that the tradition of a head chieftain, of whom the Welsh chieftains were under-chieftains, may not be devoid of truth.

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[1] If Cymric, the prefix should be *map*. But the word *tigern* (*teyrn*) seems to be Goidelic as well as Cymric. See Gwentian Code, I. v. 9, *macuyeit* = youths; Dimetian Code, I. iv. 1, *maccuyeit* = youths; Venedotian Code I. v. 4, *macuyuet* = youths. And cf. *Vortigern* = *Gwr-theyrn*, which was both Goidelic and Cymric, and means probably the *supreme lord* = *Gor-tigern*.

[2] *W.L.* XIV. iv. 5.

II. THE TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP THAT OF A FAMILY.

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In the Welsh Codes the tribal system of Wales is made throughout to turn upon the possession of Cymric blood, and Cymru in the time of the Codes had become to a great extent geographically identical with modern Wales.

Most of Wales originally *Goidelic.*

But Mr. Skene has shown that before the invasion of Cunedda and his sons the Cymric population was confined to the eastern part of Wales only. 'We find,' he writes, 'the seaboard of Wales on the west in the occupation of the Gwyddyl, or Gael, and the Cymry confined to the eastern part of Wales only and placed between them (*i.e.* the Gwyddyls) and the Saxons. A line drawn from Conway, on the north, to Swansea, on the south, would separate the two races of the Gwyddyl and the Cymry on the west and on the east. In North Wales the Cymry possessing Powys, with the Gwyddyl in Gwynedd, and Mona or Anglesey. In South Wales the Cymry possessing Gwent and Morganwg, with the Gwyddyl in Dyfed, and Brecknock occupied by the mysterious Brychan and his family.'[1]

The real Cumbria further North.

Mr. Skene shows, in fact, that, whilst Powys and the Severn Valley were ancient Cymric districts, the stronghold of the Cymry was the real Cumbria further north, viz. from the Dee and the Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde.[2]

Accordingly, when Cunedda and his sons in the

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, chap. iv.

[2] With the exception of Pictish Galloway. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 288.

Cunedda and his sons from the North.

fifth century came from the north with their tribal following of Cymry to drive out the Gwyddyls from Wales, and only succeeded in doing it after two or three generations of constant conflict, it does not seem likely that they should recognise them as of their own Cymric kindred just because both conquerors and conquered were Celtic in race. The Cymry were new comers, and conquered North Wales and Anglesey first, and it was not until the time of Cunedda's great-grandson Maelgwn that they became masters of South Wales also. Even then, as regards the old inhabitants, they were still a conquering tribe.

There is a curious passage in the Venedotian Code which shows that the true Cymric land was in the north, even after the time of Maelgwn. Under the heading 'Privileges of Arvon' the following story is told :—

> 'Here *Elidyr* the Courteous, a man from the North, was slain, and after his death the men of the North came here to avenge him. The chiefs, their leaders, were Clydno Eiddin [of Edinburgh?], Nudd the Generous, son of Senyllt, Mordav the Generous, son of Servari, and Rydderch, the Generous, son of Tudwal Tudglyd [of Strathclyde?], and they came to Arvon, and because Elidyr was slain at Aber Mewydus, in Arvon, they burned Arvon as a further revenge. And then Run, son of Maelgwn, and the men of Gwynedd, assembled in arms, and proceeded to the banks of the Gweryd [Forth?] in the North, and there they were long disputing who should take the lead through the River Gweryd. Then Run sent a messenger to Gwynedd, to ascertain who were entitled to the lead, and some say that Maeldav the elder, the Lord of Penardd, adjudged it to the men of Arvon. Iorwerth, the son of Madog, on the authority of his own information, affirms that Idno the Aged assigned it to the men of the black-headed shafts. And thereupon the men of Arvon advanced in the van, and were valorous there, and Taliesin sang—
>
> Behold from the ardency of their blades
> With Run the reddener of armies,
> The men of Arvon with their ruddy lances.

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> And then, on account of the length of time they remained in arms, their wives slept with their bond-servants, and on that account Run granted them fourteen privileges. . . . And if there be who shall doubt one of these privileges, the community at Bangor and that of Beuno shall uphold them.' [1]

There can be little doubt that this story is connected with a disputed succession on the death of Maelgwn. Possibly the question in dispute may have been what Cymric family had the right to the head-chieftainship, and the expedition of Elidyr from the north may have been to claim it. He is said to have married the daughter of Maelgwn. Be this as it may, the story shows that the traditional connection was not then broken between the Cymry of Wales and the old tribal home further north from whence they had sprung.

Cunedda's invasion a tribal migration.

Speaking broadly then, this invasion of Cunedda and his sons was one of those tribal movements of which history is so full, in which tribes allied in blood when conquered are as a matter of course treated as strangers and made what Bede calls 'tributary to the conquering tribe.' The Saxons reduced conquered Teutonic tribes into *gafolgelders*, and these *gafolgelders* were probably very much what the Welsh Codes call *aillts* and *taeogs*.

That Cunedda came from the north, that his court may have been at Carlisle, that he may possibly have held office in the Roman army, that his force on the Roman Wall was 900 horse (*i.e.* a Roman legion), that he wore the gold belt which was the badge of the Roman Dux, and that some of his ancestors' names were Roman—all this is not in

[1] *Venedotian Code*, II. ii.

the least inconsistent with his being the head-chieftain of Northern Cymric tribes.[1] The great German Hermann was nearly all this, and, no doubt, his Roman training was one secret of his power. Roman forces withdrawn, tribal instincts would rise again into prominence, and conquests would be made on tribal lines.[2]

Cunedda's Roman training.

The very phrase 'Cunedda and his sons' suggests that his chieftainship was a tribal one, and it is perfectly consistent with tribal rules that it should be that of a royal family rather than a merely personal or individual thing.

His chieftainship that of a family.

It was also in accordance with tribal instincts that his sons should be sub-chieftains (*mechdeyrns*) and share in his kingdom, giving their names to the subordinate divisions of the conquered country ruled by them.

There are traces of this family or tribal character of the chieftainship as well in the legends of their history as in the succession to the head-chieftainship. Traces such as these are not without value where real history is wanting.

In the 'Life of St. Carannog,'[3] it is incidentally stated that Cunedda had several sons, that the first-born was *Tybiawn*, who died before Cunedda's raid into Wales. But it goes on to say that his brother *Meiriawn* divided the possessions of his father among his brethren.

Division of chieftainship among sons.

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[1] See Professor Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, p. 135.

[2] Nennius places the invasion of Cunedda 146 years before Mailcun (Maelgwn) reigned.

[3] *Lives of Cambro-British Saints* (Rees), pp. 100 and 400. The MS. from which it was transcribed is early 12th century.

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So in the 'Life of St. Cadoc,'[1] the sons of *Glywys*, a so-called *regulus* of part of Glamorganshire and Gwent, *natalico more* divided their father's kingdom between them, every one taking his special province, whilst we learn from another legend that *Gwynllyw* the eldest ruled over the whole as *princeps dominator*.[2]

Thus chieftainship in a tribe seems to have been the family possession of a *gwely*, like the '*tir gwelyawc*' of the proprietary tribesmen.

Periodical choice of ruling family.

So again in the succession to the head-chieftainship, it would almost seem as though there were traces of recurring periods in the royal family history when a new choice had to be made, and the headship became settled in a single family chosen out from the others. This choice obviously involved the subordination of the other families.

Thus from among the descendants of Cunedda *Maelgwn* was chosen, and the placing of him in the chair made of birds' wings on the sea-shore, according to the legend recorded in the Welsh Laws, may well have been the form taken by the ceremony on his election to the headship of all Cymru.[3]

Maelgwn.

Maelgwn's accession was evidently an epoch in Welsh tribal history. He took up his residence at Aberffraw as *brenhin* of Venedotia. There were other ruling families in different districts, but the headship of Cymru remained thenceforth in his family alone.[4]

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[1] *Id.* pp. 22 and 310.
[2] *Id.* p. 146.
[3] *W.L.* V. ii. 1.
[4] See Professor Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, p. 125 *et seq.*

He died, as already said, in the first visitation of the 'Yellow Death,' about A.D. 547, and was succeeded in the head-chieftainship ultimately by his great-grandson *Iago*, who again was a great leader, and fell in the Battle of Chester, A.D. 613.

Iago.

Lastly, *Iago's* great-grandson, *Cadwaladr*, after raising the hopes of the Cymry by his leadership, died, it is said, during the second visitation of the 'Yellow Death,' about A.D. 664–683.[1]

Cadwaladr.

So much for the traditional succession to the chieftainship in the family of Cunedda.

But, side by side with the Aberffraw line of Cymric chieftains, there seems to have been another of the same kind in Powys.

Ruling family of Powys.

As already said, Powys was seemingly Cymric before the advent of Cunedda and his sons. And the royal family of *Catel-Tigern-Lug*, according to Nennius, dated back to the time of St. Germanus.[2] He and his nine sons, according to Nennius, were baptised by St. Germanus, and blessed in the words, 'A king shall not be wanting of thy seed for ever'; and Nennius adds, writing early in the eighth century:—

> 'And, agreeably to the prediction of St. Germanus, he became a king, all his sons were kings, and from their offspring the whole country of Powys has been governed to this day.'

Thus legend and tradition alike testify to the tribal character of Welsh chieftainship as that of a ruling family, and not merely of a single person or leader.

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[1] Professor Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, p. 128.

[2] Whether Zimmer is right in giving a late origin to this legend or not does not much affect the force of it in this connection. *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 72 *et seq.*

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The chief's household under the Codes.

In the constitution of the *brenhin's* household, as described in the Codes, the tribal character of the royal family was in part at least sustained.

It had its *penteulu*, or chief of household, like any other family, and he must be of the royal blood—a son or nephew. A mere *uchelwr* could not occupy the position, because he was not of the chieftain's kindred. The *brenhin* himself could not be chief of the household because he had another office. Nor could the *edling*, or designated successor of the *brenhin*. He had another office and a higher privilege, equal to that of the *brenhin*.[1]

His family all edlings till settled on land.

The family of royal privilege is said in the Codes to consist of sons, nephews, and first cousins. In a sense they all were *edlings*;[2] but they ceased to belong to it when they obtained separate possession of land for themselves. Their privilege became then that of their land.

> 'When the edling dies he is to leave his horses and his dogs to the brenhin, for that is the only ebediw he is to render, and the reason why he ought to render no other is because he is a near relation (*aylaut*) to the brenhin. The near relations (*aylodeu*) of the brenhin are his sons, his nephews, and his first cousins. Some say that every one of these is an edling; others say that no one is an edling except that person to whom the brenhin shall give hope of succession and designation.
>
> 'The edling and those whom we have above mentioned shall possess that privilege until they obtain land; after that, their privilege shall be identified with the privilege of the land they obtain, except they obtain land in villenage (*vyleyn dyr*, in another MS. *kaeth dir*). In that case the privilege of the land shall augment until it shall become free.'[3]

Hence the younger sons of the royal family, settled

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[1] *V.C.* I. vii. 1.
[2] *V.C.* I. v. 5.
[3] *Id.* See also *D.C.* I. v. 8.

upon land, would become eventually *breyrs* and *uchelwrs*. But such a son, placed at the head of the *llys* of a *cantref* or *cymwd*, became in some sense a territorial chief. As such, he held a royal court of privileged officers among the *uchelwrs* of his district. So it was in Howel's time,[1] and his legislation, as already mentioned, recognised these sub-chieftains. CHAP. VI.

Descendants of chieftains become *uchelwrs* and merge in the tribe.

Hence it follows that the royal stock was from time to time, as it were, swarming off into new family stocks, or, to change the metaphor, overflowing into and swelling the number of Cymric proprietors of land. New kindreds, offshoots from the royal kindred, were from time to time taking their places side by side with the other kindreds of Cymru.

How many of the Cymric kindreds were descended from Cunedda and his sons, or others of his kindred who came with him to conquer Wales, or were sprung from the royal family of Powys, we cannot tell. But the centuries between Cunedda's chieftainship and Howel's afforded quite time enough for the Cymric stock in Wales to multiply without bringing into their tribe the conquered people of the land. A race which guarded its blood so keenly, which made the stranger family wait, unless hastened by intermarriage, till the ninth degree of kindred was reached before its members were sufficiently naturalised to be admitted into fellowship and freedom—allowed to bear arms and to share in responsibility for crimes—was not likely to have admitted the conquered races wholesale into tribal union. The two visitations of the 'Yellow Death' probably thinned the population

[1] *W.L.* X. xiii.

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and prepared the way for the new comers, and whether the older races of the land were Goidelic or Brython, they were most likely regarded as strangers in blood to the conquering tribesmen, and as such treated as *taeogs* or *aillts*.

The old inhabitants remain strangers in blood.

Thus whilst chieftainship in the tribe was the prerogative of a family rather than of a person, and the tie of blood-relationship bound together the head-chieftains and the sub-chieftains and the chiefs of kindreds and of households, and whilst the continuity of kindred so secured throughout the whole hierarchy of chieftains bound the whole body of tribesmen together by the tie of blood, the gulf remained as deep as ever between the tribesmen and the strangers in blood.

Lastly, if the Cymry came into Wales with Cunedda, or in the migration from the north connected by tradition with his name, then, unless it were in Powys, we must not look for evidence of the Cymric tribal system in Wales anywhere earlier than the coming of Cunedda, or in South Wales before Maelgwn's conquest, and the first visitation of the 'Yellow Death.'

It would be rash to regard this conclusion as other than provisional, till further light has been thrown upon the subject by Celtic scholars, but it has an important bearing upon the interpretation of the earlier evidence to which attention will hereafter be called, and which has to do with the contact in the sixth century between the Cymric conquerors of South Wales and the Christian Church.

III. THE CHIEFTAINSHIP IN ITS RELATION TO LAND.

The later manorial position of the chieftain.

The Extents of the so-called manor of Aberffraw have already familiarised the reader with the position, at the time of the conquest of North Wales, of the chieftain in relation, first to his so-called manor with its *maerdref*, its free officials of the court, and the hamlets of *nativi* holding in *trefgevery* and paying rents in produce, and, secondly, to the other hamlets of the *cantref*, whether occupied by *weles* of free tribesmen, paying food rents commuted into money, or by *nativi*, still for the most part paying rents in kind. But the family character of his land ownership was hidden, so to speak, under the shadow of the manorial aspect of his lordship.

The family character of his ownership apparent in the twelfth century charters.

The originally family character of the chieftain's ownership is, however, apparent enough in the charters of donations made by chieftains in the twelfth century, to say nothing of the earlier evidence hereafter to be examined.

There must always be some doubt how far under the tribal system the land which was set apart for the chieftainship in each *cantref* or *cymwd*, and the food rents from the tribesmen or strangers in blood, were at the chieftain's disposal, and how far his family (*aelodeu*) had rights of maintenance out of them.

It might well be that in newly conquered districts the chieftain's power of disposal was exceptionally great, not only because his own power would be greatest after victory, but also because there would be freshly conquered lands which could be

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allotted or disposed of without displacing any tribesmen.

Moreover, if the inhabitants of conquered regions were retained on the land as *aillts* and *taeogs*, and made tributary (according to tribal custom), it would be easy to transfer to a church or to a relative the tribute of a holding or district without disturbing anyone.

Further, even in ordinary times the chieftain's power as head of the tribe over unoccupied waste may always have been recognised. On the other hand, what in modern phrase is meant by transfer of the land itself, or transfer of the freehold, was probably an idea as foreign to the tribal system in its early stages as individual contrasted with family ownership. Transfer of the tribute and lordship of a district was probably far more in accordance with tribal conceptions. The tribal and family use of the land upon payment of customary food rents or tribute was, perhaps, at first, the nearest approach to ownership, and the transfer of the right to the tribute the nearest approach to alienation.

In later times, as the lordship became more and more manorial, modern ideas crept in together with modern forms of conveyance. But even then there is incidental evidence in the charters giving effect to the grants to churches, made as late as the twelfth century, that the subject of the donations was not the individual and independent property of the chieftain making them. They show that his power of making the donation was limited. To make it valid his act required not, indeed, the consent and confirmation of any council or *witan*, but the consent

Consent of the chieftain's family needful to the validity of his donations.

and confirmation of his family, as in other cases of '*tir gwelyawc*.'

The donation to the Abbey o Strata Florida.

Thus, in a charter of donation to the Abbey of Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire, 'Resus, Prince of South Wales,' calls himself *proprietarius princeps*, and recites that he had built the abbey and made a donation of it and of land to its abbot in A.D. 1184, and yet it was necessary for his three sons to confirm the donation, thus, 'together with him establishing it before many of his army, in the Church of St. Brigid at Raiadr.' And further, 'he and his sons and all his posterity' joined in giving it the usual immunities.[1]

So again, to take an example from another district, the necessity of the concurrence of heirs in the disposition of property belonging to the families of chieftains is very obvious in the following case, notwithstanding the lateness of date and the use of ordinary Norman forms of conveyancing.

Donation by a chieftain to his wife for her life of the '*cymwd* of Maelor Saesneg.

A certain Gruffydd of Dinas Bran (son of Madoc, the founder of the Abbey of *Valle Crucis*, and of Isota, daughter of Ithel, Prince of Gwent) had four sons, and died A.D. 1270.

After his death, in 5 Ed. I., an inquisition was held to inquire into the legality of the seizure by Prince Llewelyn of certain lands held in dower by his widow.[2]

From the finding of the jury, it appears that Gruffydd, on his marriage with Emma, gave to her

[1] See Dugdale's account of Strata Florida, *Monasticon*, v. p. 632.

[2] This inquisition and the charter cited in this case will be found in Appendix D. I am indebted for this instance to the Hon. Mrs. Bulkeley Owen, of Tedsmore Hall, Oswestry.

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With the consent of his heirs.

the whole *cymwd* (*patria*) of Maelor Saesneg (in Flintshire) for her life. The charter by which he did this shows that he did it with the assent and consent of his heirs (*assensu et consensu heredum meorum*). The *cymwd* is described as '*totam patriam que vocatur Maylorseysnec*,' and it contained several *villæ* or *villatæ*, just as the Denbigh Extent might lead us to expect. The deed was witnessed by Anianus, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Abbot of Valle Crucis, the donor's four sons, and others.

Purchase from 'the heirs of Erbistock.'

Then, by another charter, the same Gruffydd, again 'with the assent and consent of his heirs,' made a similar grant to Emma, of the property which came to him from his deceased brother Hywel, part of which had been purchased 'from all the heirs of Herbestoc' (*de omnibus heredibus de Herbestoc.*[1]) And, lastly, the four sons confirm to their mother, by a separate charter, all the above-mentioned property, also in addition that which their grandmother Isolda had purchased with their grandfather's concurrence. The Jury, on inquisition made into these circumstances, swore that this dower was given in due form by Gruffydd, with the confirmation of his *heredes* after his death, and with the confirmation of Llewelyn, then Prince of Wales, who confirmed all the donations. And they said that the custom of Wales was that everyone at his own will could give to his wife his lands and tenements, before marriage or after, at his pleasure.

Declaration of the custom of Wales.

The prince, Llewelyn, had evicted the widow from this property, and the jury explained the reason of

[1] With regard to Erbistock see the interesting paper of Mr. A. N. Palmer in the *Archæological Review*, March 1888.

his action, and stated that the custom of Wales was such that as often as anyone from fear of war, or on other occasion, leaves his land and retires from Wales to other parts, the lord has a right to seize that land as escheat to him, and deal with it at his pleasure.

The family character of these grants.

Strictly speaking, this case must not be taken as showing that under the tribal system dower was a recognised incident, but rather that the practice was sanctioned by later custom of a husband, with the consent of his family, giving his wife a life interest in some of his property.

Again, it shows, no doubt, that chieftains in later times could and did purchase and dispose of property with family consent. The main provision made in this case was, however, far more of the character of a life interest in the tributes or dues of a lordship than a life interest in a modern landed estate. The grant embraced a whole *patria* or *cymwd*, and the Denbigh Extent has made it clear that within the *cymwd* there were under the tribal system numerous *weles* of tribesmen and of so-called *nativi*. In the case of Maelor Saesneg, it may not have been so, as the district of which it was a part had been, for a time at least, under Saxon rule, and during this period it may well have lost some of its tribal characteristics.

Two kinds of donations.

On the whole, it must be recognised that even under more strictly tribal conditions, with the consent of their family, chieftains could and did make donations to churches, as well as to their wives, and that these might be of two kinds:—

Of the tribute or food-rent.

(1) The transfer of the tribute or food rent of land from the chieftain, and the support of his establishment, to a church, or a monastery, without changing

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its amount, so constituting the occupiers of that land, probably most often *aillts* or *taeogs*, thenceforth tenants of a church, or monastery, instead of tenants of the chieftain.

Of a defini area of land.

(2) The donation of a certain area of land, on which the church or monastery was built, freed from all secular payments or dues, showing that there was tribal land of some kind, cultivated or waste, allotted under tribal conditions to the chieftain or his family, or, possibly, *escheat* to him, which he, with the consent of his family, could dispose of to a church, or otherwise.[1]

IV. THE CHIEFTAIN'S FOOD-RENTS FROM FREE TRIBESMEN.

The question of the transfer or donation of land by chieftains is so closely connected with the food-rents from the land that it will be convenient at this stage of the inquiry to examine more closely into their character.

Food-rents commuted into *tunc*.

In the Extents the food-rents of the free tribesmen were found to be commuted into definite money payments made under the name of *tunc*.

Accordingly in the Codes the customary unit of

[1] This conclusion, drawn from later charters, does not seem to be inconsistent with the Codes.

It is true that the Triads represent that the right of coaration of the waste was a part of the *cyvarwys* of every tribesman, and that 'every wild and waste belongs to the country and kindred in common' (*W.L.* XIII. ii. 101). But this is consistent with the power of the *brenhin* to dispose of the special portion of the waste in every *cymwd* allotted to him. According to the Codes it was the official duty of the *maer* and *canghellor* 'to keep the waste of the *brenhin* until he shall dispose of it' (*D.C.* II. xii. 9 and *G.C.* I. xxxv.), and, according to the *Venedotian Code* (II. xviii. 7), these officers did not lose their right of service upon it even when it was disposed of.

gwestva is commuted into what is called the *tunc pound.*

The *gwestva* of the Codes commuted into the *tunc* pound.

There are indications that originally, before the commutation, the payment of food-rents was arranged in such a way as to supply the customary provision for so many 'nights' entertainments,' a practice of which the *firma unius noctis* of the Domesday Survey and other mediæval documents, was probably a survival.

The *firma unius noctis.*

It is obvious that Cymric chieftains, when on progress from one place to another, whether on military or hunting and hawking expeditions, needed both shelter and also provision for the nightly entertainment of themselves and their company.

Provision of the chieftain's shelter when on progress to be made by the *aillts.*

The onus of making provision for their shelter fell, under the Codes, upon the *aillts* or non-tribesmen.

Construction of the chieftain's hall.

The *brenhin's* hall consisted of six columns or poles, probably often newly felled trees, placed in parallel rows of three, and fastened together at the top to the roof-tree, thus forming a kind of nave. Then at some distance behind the poles low walls of stakes and wattle shut in the aisles. The roof was covered with branches and thatch, and there were wattle doors of entrance at the end. Along the aisles behind the poles were placed beds of rushes, called *gwelys*, and the footboards of the beds were used as seats in the daytime.[1] All houses put up in this way were alike, and each piece of timber had its customary value from the poles and the roof-tree down to the stakes and the wattle.[2]

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[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descr. Camb.* I. c. x.

[2] *Venedotian Code*, III. xxi. 6.

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The fire was in the middle between the central posts, and divided the upper portion, where sat the chief, the *edling*, and principal officers, from the lower and humbler end of the hall. The silentiary stood by one of the central posts, and it was his duty to call attention by striking it with his staff.[1]

Such a hall as this was easily constructed and removed, and owed what fleeting grandeur it possessed to its curtains, and the weapons of the temporary inmates hung upon its sides.

At first sight the construction of buildings such as this for a few nights' shelter of the chieftain and his company might seem too onerous a customary obligation to be periodically imposed upon the chieftain's 'villeins.' But it is recorded in the Boldon Book that the *villani* of the Bishop of Durham had to furnish for his great hunts just such a hall in the forest, 60 feet long and 16 feet wide between the posts, together with a buttery, steward's room, chamber, privy, and chapel,[2] so that the following passage from the 'Venedotian Code' need not be surprising:—

> 'Nine houses which the villeins of the *brenhin* are to erect for him: a hall, a chamber, a buttery, a stable, a dog-house, a barn, an oven, a privy, and a dormitory.'[3]

This provision frequently wanted.

Whether these buildings were put up afresh for every royal visit, or were only repaired on occasion, we are not told. Possibly the *brenhin* may have required such provision at frequent intervals, for besides his hunting and hawking he seems very often to have called out the tribesmen to join his host in the mili-

[1] *V.C.* I. vi. 1, and *D.C.* I. v. 2.
[2] *Boldon Book*, p. 575.
[3] *Venedotian Code*, I. xliii. 16, and see *Dimetian Code*, II. xi. 7.

tary exercises which perhaps had succeeded to more strictly marauding expeditions of an earlier period.

Military expeditions and exercises.

> 'The king (*brenhin*) is not to go with his host out of the country except once a year, but they are to attend the king in his own dominion whenever he shall please. The king is to have from every *villein-tref* a man, a horse, and an axe to form encampments, at his own cost.' [1]

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, Welsh tribesmen were eager to join in warlike expeditions—*gens armis dedita tota.*[2] He represents not only the *uchelwrs* (*nobiles*), but all the people as eager to rush from the plough at the signal for war.

The tribesmen were free from having men or dogs quartered upon them except during the great progress of the *brenhin's* household in winter.

> 'Neither *maer* nor *canghellor* is to be imposed upon a free *maenol*, nor progress, nor *dovraeth*, nor youths (*mackbýeit*), nor anything (except as above) except the great progress of the household in the winter.' [3]

What, then, was this great progress of the household to which the tribesmen were subject?

The progress of the household after Christmas.

> 'The chief of the [*brenhin's*] household is to have a progress assigned him by the king after separating from him at Christmas, himself and the household. The household is to consist of three parties: the elder party, the middle party, and the younger party; and alternately he is to be with each: and the party he is with is to choose its house. And so long as he shall be on that progress he is to have servants, a doorward and a cook, and servants of the table, and these are to have the skins of the animals which are slaughtered, and the cooks are to have the tallow, the fragments, and the entrails.' [4]

The rough character of these progresses, though restricted by the Codes, is apparent enough. The slaughter of animals for the night's entertainment,

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[1] I. xliii. 15.
[2] *Desc. Camb.* ch. viii.
[3] II. xix. 6.
[4] *Venedotian Code*, I. vii. 22.

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and the division among the followers of the skins, the tallow, and the entrails, are graphic features indeed. These progresses were, moreover, quite apart from the military and hunting or hawking expeditions of the *brenhin* himself, because when they were concluded the chief of the household was to return to him, and remain with him for the rest of the year.

The progress of the chieftain and his company.

The *brenhin's* own progress was of another kind. He and his company were not quartered on the tribesmen, but, whilst his *aillts* had to provide him with his necessary buildings for shelter, it was the duty of the free tribesmen to contribute the food and mead for his entertainment.

The *gwestva* of the free tribesmen for his 'night's entertainment.'

This they did by the payment of the *gwestva* or food-rent. And, as before said, there are incidental indications that it was provided originally on the system of the 'night's entertainment.'

Amongst the curious Welsh phrases into which the number nine entered, one is recorded in the 'Welsh Laws'[1] which is significant in this connection—*Naw nos gwesty*—'the nine nights of the guest-house.'[2] Further, in the 'Dimetian Code' each *tref* providing its *gwestva* to the chieftain is 'to light the fire three nights and three days for him,'[3] suggesting at least that the *gwestvas* were arranged so as to provide for periods of three nights at a time.

Again, the Venedotian food-rent, or *tunc* pound in lieu of it, was to be accompanied by the payment of 24*d.* of supper-silver for the 24 servants of 'every

[1] *W.L.* X. viii.

[2] Translated in the Latin version 'novem noctes hospitis,' *Leges Wallice*, II. xlvi. 8.

[3] *D.C.* II. xix. 6.

feast at which mead was drunk,'[1] thus leading to the inference that the *tunc* pound of Venedotia was provision for one night's carousal of the *brenhin* and his company.

The arrangement in groups for payment of the *gwestva* or *tunc* pound.

There is some obscurity in the Codes with regard to the method of clustering the households or homesteads of tribesmen into the groups from which the *gwestva*, or *tunc* pound in lieu of it, was due.

In the Venedotian Code[2] the *tyddyns* were grouped into *randirs*, the *randirs* into *gavaels*, the *gavaels* into *trefs*, and the *trefs* into *maenols*. And the *maenol* was the unit which paid the *gwestva*, or *tunc* pound. In South Wales the *gwestva*-paying group was the *tref*, and this was composed of four *randirs*, each of which contained 312 erws of 'arable, pasture, and wood, and space for buildings on the twelve erws.'[3]

Thus the *gwestva*-paying unit in North Wales seems at first sight to have been a certain number of *tyddyns*, whilst in South Wales it embraced a certain area of land. It is possible, however, that there may be some way of reconciling the two methods, for there are indications that in the description in the Venedotian Code the *tyddyn* is taken as a unit of land measurement. On the whole, however, it is better, perhaps, not to attempt at this point any further explanation than that the group of holdings called a *maenol* in Venedotia and a *tref* in South Wales was the *gwestva*-paying unit, bearing in mind also the fact, learned from the Denbigh Extent, that the *villatæ*, whatever they might be, were the fixed units, and that the *weles* of tribesmen were

[1] *V.C.* I. ix. 25. [2] *V.C.* II. xvii. [3] *D.C.* II. xix. and xx.

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easily moved, with their cattle and their internally complex tribal rights, from one district to another.

In what the *gwestva* consisted.

Passing, then, to the *gwestva*, or food-rent itself, in what did it consist?

In the Venedotian Code.

In the Venedotian Code the '*tunc* of a free *maenol*' is thus described:—

> From every free *maenol* the *brenhin* is to have a vat (*keruỳn*) of *mead* nine handbreadths in length diagonally.
>
> If mead be not obtained, two of *bragot*; and if *bragot* be not obtained, four of ale (*gỏrỳw* = *cerevisia*).[1]

The vat of liquor was, therefore, a prominent feature in the *gwestva*, but other things also were included. A few clauses further on, the '*king's gwestva* from a free *maenol*' is more fully described, thus:—

> The measure of the *brenhin's gwestva* in winter from a free *maenol*: that is to say:—
>
> A horseload of the best flour that shall grow on the land.
>
> The carcase of a cow or an ox.
>
> A full vat (*keruỳn*) of mead 9 handbreadths in its depth diagonally and as much in breadth (*sic*).
>
> Seven thraves of oats of one band for provender.
>
> A three-year-old swine.
>
> A salted flitch of 3 fingerbreadths in thickness.
>
> A vessel of butter 3 handbreadths in depth, not heaped, and 3 in breadth.
>
> And if these cannot be obtained a pound is to be paid in lieu of them, and that is the *tunc* pound, and 24*d.* to the king's servants.

The statement is then repeated that if mead cannot be obtained two vats of *bragot* or four vats of ale are to be paid.

The *tunc* pound covered all, and it is further stated that it is to be reckoned as divided thus, viz.: 'Six score [pence] for bread, three score for liquor (*llyn*), and three score for *enllyn*.'

[1] *V.C.* II. xxi.

The *tunc* pound was the Gallic lb. of 240*d.* of silver.

The *tunc* pound, therefore, contained twelve score, or 240 pence. And as in the Latin version a 'score of silver' is rendered as '*uncia argenti*,' it is clear that we have to deal with weights of silver instead of coin, and with the Gallic pound of 20 pennyweights to the ounce and 12 ounces to the pound. The equation, therefore, between the food-rent and the pound of silver may, after all, be founded on ancient custom.

The *gwestva* of the Gwentian and Dimetian Codes.

In the Gwentian and Dimetian Codes the *tref* is the unit for payment of the *tunc* pound, and the *gwestva*, of which the latter was the equivalent, is described almost in the same words as in the Venedotian Code, leaving out some of the smaller items. It consisted of the horseload of wheat-flour, an ox, 7 thraves of oats, a vat (*gerbyn*) of honey, and 24 of silver.[1]

When honey was wanting, two vats of *bragot* or four of beer were to be paid instead. And the vat, or *cerbyn*, is described in these words:—

> 'The height of the vat is to be nine handbreadths when measured diagonally from the further bottom groove to the hither rim. . . . And it ought to be sufficiently capacious for the *brenhin* and his elder to bathe therein.'[2]

There was also a summer *gwestva*, which was to consist of:—

> a fat cow, a fat wether 3 years old, and a sow of 3 winters three fingers thick, and [it is added] 'the *trev* is to bring all these to the king, and to light a fire three nights and three days for him.'[3]

In the Gwentian Code the summer *gwestva* is only obscurely alluded to, but in other points the

[1] *Dimetian Code*, II. xix.; *Gwentian Code*, II. xxxiv.

[2] *D.C.* II. xix. 3.

[3] *Id.* xix. 6.

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description in the Dimetian Code is closely followed, except that instead of the vat of honey the words used are 'what shall suffice for a vat of honey,' probably in both cases the meaning being as much honey as would brew into a vat of mead.

The *cervin* or vat of mead, *bragot*, or beer.

The vat (*keruỳn* or *cerƀỳn*) of mead, or, if mead were wanting, to be filled four times with beer (*gƀrỳw* or *cƀrƀf* = *cerevisia*), is of some interest. The word used throughout connects it not so much with mead as with the Gallic beverage beer. *Bragot* also seems to have been a Gallic drink. The word *bragot* (Irish, *brach*), in Latin *brace*, occurs constantly in connection with the food-rents of Brittany in the Redon Chartulary. It is mentioned by Pliny, and was used sometimes for malt and sometimes for the liquor brewed from it.[1]

This vat, by which all three beverages were measured for the *gwestva*, is always described in the Codes as nine handbreadths in its diagonal measure, following the traditional method of using the gauging-rod adopted by the professional gauger.

The method of measuring vessels in this way by their diagonal is a widely extended and ancient one. Thus, in the Icelandic *Gragas* the same method of measuring the size of a vessel is used.[2]

In the Latin version of the Dimetian Code the *dolium*, or vat, of mead is described as nine palms *in longo et in lato*,[3] but in the other Latin version the nine palms are to be *per obliquum a fundo usque ad*

[1] Cf. with the Greek χόρμα, and Irish *cuirm*, and Pliny's mention of the Spanish word *cerea*. And see Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen*, &c. (Berlin, 1877), p. 132.

[2] *Gragas*, vol. i. p. 501; *Kaupa-balkr*, tit. lxxxv.

[3] *Leg. Wall.* II. xiii. 2.

summum.[1] These may probably be taken as inexact translations from the Welsh, 'nine *handbreadths* diagonally measured.'

The handbreadth was a measure distinct from the palm, and, reckoning the width and height as equal, the contents of a round vessel with upright sides and with such a diagonal measurement would contain not much more or less than the Winchester quarter of 64 gallons (280 litres).

Thus, presumably, 64 gallons of mead or four times the amount of beer, together with the carcase of a cow or an ox, and a horseload of flour, with bacon and butter added, was the *gwestva* contributed by the *maenol* in Venedotia and the *tref* in South Wales towards the nightly carousals of the chieftain and his company.

The normal retinue or company of the chieftain.

The normal retinue or company of the *brenhin* is described in the Venedotian Code as consisting of thirty-six horsemen—equivalent to *uchelwrs* or *equites* —*i.e.* of the twenty-four officials of the king and queen, and twelve *gwestais*, possibly *uchelwrs*, bringing the *gwestvas* from the twelve *gwestva*-paying *maenols* in the cantref; and there would be numerous hangers-on and dependents, including the twenty-four servants to whom supper silver was due.[2]

How many nights' carousal were provided for by the twelve *gwestvas* from the cantref in which the chieftain was making his progress remains undisclosed.

[1] *Leg. Wall.* I. xviii. 6.

[2] *V.C.* I. ix. 25.

V. THE CHIEFTAIN'S DUES FROM NON-TRIBESMEN.

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The main burden of the chieftain's progresses and maintenance was placed, no doubt, upon the shoulders of others than the free tribesmen.

The twelve *gwestvas* of free tribesmen from each cantref—six from each cymwd—were a substantial contribution to his maintenance, but it was supplemented by other provisions.

The *maertref* of the chief.

In the first place, according to the Venedotian Code, the *brenhin* is entitled in every cymwd to two *trefs*—one for his *maertref* and the other for his waste and summer pasture.[1]

These two *trefs* may be looked upon as constituting what in the Extents are described as the prince's manor in each cymwd. The obligations of the men of the *maertref* have already been alluded to in connection with the Manor of Aberffraw.[2]

Apart from this special provision for the chieftain, according to the Venedotian Code, the cymwd was to be arranged in twelve groups, or *maenols*.

Four *maenols* in each cymwd assigned to *aillts*. Their services.

Six of these, as we have seen, were *gwestva*-paying *maenols* of free tribesmen. Of the eight *maenols* left, two were set apart specially for the support of the *maer* and the *canghellor*. The remaining four were to be assigned to *aillts* to support dogs and horses and for the purposes of progress (*chŷlch*) and quarters (*dovraeth*).

The *maer* and *canghellor* were to make progress

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[1] *V.C.* II. xvii. 12.

[2] The description in the Denbigh Extent of the manor and *maertref* of Dynrobyn in Ros Isdulas will be found in the Appendix, p. 91.

in parties of four among the king's *aillts* twice in the year. And besides this:—

> 'The *aillts* of the king (*brenhin*) are not to support him nor his household. . . . They are to furnish pack-horses to the king for the hosts, and they are to present the queen once every year with meat and drink, and they are to support the dogs, the huntsmen, the falconers, and the youths, all of them once every year.'[1]

It has already been mentioned that the *aillts* had to put up the chieftain's buildings, and furnish horses and men, with hatchets, for making encampments on his military expeditions.

The *dawn-bwyds* or food-gifts of the non-tribesmen.

In addition to these obligations, according to the Venedotian Code, the bond *maenols* had to furnish yearly two *dawn-bwyds*, or food-gifts.

In Winter.

A three-year-old swine.
A vessel of butter 3 handbreadths in depth and three in breadth.
A vat full of bragot nine handbreadths in depth diagonally.
A thrave of oats of one band for provender.
26 loaves of the best bread grown on the land. . . .
A man to kindle the fire in the hall that night, or 1*d.*

In Summer.

A three-year-old wether.
A dish of butter.
26 loaves.
A cheese of one milking of all the cows in the *tref*.[2]

According to the Gwentian Code, the *dawn-bwyds* were as under:

Winter.

Vat of ale.
A sow 3 fingers thick.
A salted flitch.
60 loaves of bread. . . .
20 sheaves of oats.
1*d.* from every *randir* to the servants.

[1] *V.C.* II. xix. 9–11.

[2] *V.C.* II. xxvii. 2.

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Summer.

Tub of butter 9 handbreadths in width and a handbreadth in thickness with the thumb standing.

Cheese of a meal's milk from all the *taeogs*, along with bread.[1]

According to the Dimetian Code, the amount of the *dawn-bwyds* was as under:

Winter.

A sow 3 fingers thick in her hams, &c. (or tub of butter).
A flitch of salted bacon.
60 loaves of wheaten bread (six of fine flour).
Vat full of bragot.
20 sheaves of oats and one band.
1*d.* for the servants.[2]

As to the summer *dawn-bwyd* there is some obscurity, but it did not differ much from that of the other Codes.

VI. CORROBORATION OF THE CODES BY THE EXTENTS.

Evidence of the Extents.

It will be convenient in concluding this chapter to return once more from the Codes to the Extents, in order to test the reality and authenticity of the customary law recorded in the former by comparison with the facts found by the surveyors actually existing at the date of the latter.

It refers back to the period before the conquest.

The earliest Extent of Aberffraw afforded evidence describing sufficiently clearly the money payments of the free tenants and the rents in kind of the hamlets of *nativi*. And the result of the petition of the tenants of Penros proved both that the description given was of the condition of things in the time of the princes before the conquest of North

[1] *G.C.* II. xxxiv. [2] *D.C.* II. xix.

Wales, and also that the greatest care was taken to perpetuate the rents and services without alteration. CHAP. VI.

But we must go to the Denbigh Extent for an example of a villata which was still the geographical unit for payment of the food-rents of the free tribesmen commuted into the *tunc* pound.

The unit for payment of the *tunc* pound in the Denbigh Extent.

If the reader will look back once again to the analysis of the villata of Prees given above at p. 38, he will see an example of a group of six so-called *progenies* or *weles* located together in a single villata, though by no means confined to that one locality. The *progenies* of Canon and Pythle ap Lauwarghe had several other locations. Their flocks and herds and dwellings were scattered here and there in places where they had rights of grazing. But at Prees they each had rights to the occupation of an undivided sixth part of the villata. And as this villata was a geographical unit from which a *tunc* pound was due, they had each to pay their sixth part of the pound—*i.e.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

The villata of Prees paid a *tunc* pound in the time of the Princes.

They were not paying the exact amount at the date of the Extent because there had been escheats and forfeitures. Instead of the full *tunc* pound the tenants of Prees at the date of the Extent were paying only 9*s.* 11¼*d.*, but the entry of the surveyor begins by saying that 'the villata of Prees with its hamlets . . . . in the time of the Princes rendered of *tung* 20*s.* 0½*d.* when it was entirely in the hands of true heirs before forfeitures.' (See App. p. 57.)

Now the *progenies* of Pythle, under the name of the grandsons of Pythle, also occupied the whole of the villata of Tebrith, and paid, therefore, the whole of the *tunc* pound of that villata.

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So also the villata of Tebrith was a *tunc*-paying unit.

It is only in a few cases like these that in the Denbigh Extent a single villata paid the full *tunc* pound, but there are a great many cases in which two or more clustered together would make up an even pound.

The unit for payment was a geographical area or district.

In the meantime the cases of Prees and Tebrith are sufficient to show that the unit of food-rent commuted into the *tunc* pound was payable from a geographical area or district, and not charged upon particular *weles* or even groups of *weles*. In a word, the tribute of the chieftain was thus territorial and not personal. The *weles* of free tribesmen could be shifted about from one villata to another, and the number of *weles* could increase or diminish without altering the payments of a particular area or the total of the chieftain's food-rents.

Possibly arranged so that the whole of Venedotia should provide for the year's entertainments.

If, for instance, the twelve free *maenols* of the Venedotian cantref each produced a vat of mead containing sixty-four gallons, the twelve vats from the whole cantref would produce 768 gallons; and if each vat contained the supply for three nights' carousal in the chieftain's hall the cantref would provide for thirty-six nights; and if at the time when the arrangement was made there were ten cantrefs in Venedotia, they might together provide for a year of 360 nights.

There is no evidence that this was the actual arrangement by which the year's supply of mead was provided—in fact, the number of cantrefs may have varied from time to time[1]—but it illustrates the possi-

[1] The authorities differ as to the number of cantrefs in North Wales, 10, 12, and 15 being mentioned. See under 'Cantrev' in the glossary to *Ancient Laws of Wales*.

bility of dividing a chieftain's territory into fixed geographical units, each of which should contribute an aliquot part of the year's supply of mead, just as King Solomon divided his tributary provinces so that each should provide for a month's supply of the wants of his luxurious court.

The *pastus* of the Denbigh Extent was in commutation of other services.

Besides the food-rents or *gwestva* payments of the free tribesmen of the Codes, there was the burden of the annual progress of the *brenhin's* household at Christmas. And there were also various services in connection with the furnishing of horses, the support of dogs and youths, which in the Codes fell upon the non-tribesmen in addition to their food gifts. There are traces of these also in the Extent.

Besides the *tunc* of each cymwd, generally divided into that from the free tribesmen and *nativi* respectively, there is always mention of other payments, under the name of *pastus*, of various kinds—*pastus principis*, *pastus familiæ principis*, *pastus stalonis*, *pastus penmackew et wayssyon bagheyn*, &c.[1]

In the Latin version of the Dimetian Code the *brenhin's* household is translated '*familia Regis*,' and there can be little doubt that the *pastus* of the Extent includes the payment in commutation of the annual provision, not only for the progress of the household, but also for other services connected with the keeping of horses and dogs, the fosterage and maintenance of youths, &c.

Thus, in the Extent of the villata of Prees, immediately after mention of the *tunc*, is the entry: '*De*

[1] *Pastus penmackew et wayssyon bagheyn* = *mackuyeit* and *gweisson bychen*—i.e. fosterage and young youths. See glossary, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, *sub* '*Macwy*.'

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pastu the prince had nothing, neither of the *pastus* of the family of the prince nor other kinds, because all the tenants of this *villa* do these services in other *villæ* as appears above in each place and *villata* respectively.'

The word *pastus* seems to be a word covering a variety of services, to some of which both classes of tenants were liable, nearly all of which at the time of the Extent had become commuted into money payments.

The evidence of the Extents strongly corroborates that of the Codes,

On the whole, as regards the relations of the chieftains to the tribesmen, the description contained in the Codes is corroborated by the facts recorded in the Extents. And, reviewing the evidence as a whole, as regards both the structure of the tribal society of the Cymry and its relation to the land, the facts recorded by the surveyors in the Extents and the explanation of them in the rules of customary law contained in the Codes are sufficiently consistent to warrant belief in the reality of tribal customs which could produce such results.

and the two together warrant belief in the reality of the tribal customs,

and that in the main the principles of tribal custom have been correctly understood.

It would be presumptuous to suppose that in all cases the facts have been correctly grasped and the principles of tribal custom embodied in the Codes rightly understood. But the hope may, perhaps, be permitted that in the main, subject always to fresh evidence and constant reconsideration of what evidence already exists, a solid foundation has been laid for further historical and economic inquiry.

Importance of this to the understanding both of the

The almost unique advantage possessed by the Cymric tribal system in its survival into the period of Codes and Extents makes it a point of vantage for further research both backwards and forwards. Any

economic evolution of society in Wales, and also of the other tribal systems of Europe.

understanding of the modern economic evolution of society in Wales must start from it. And it may be a stepping-stone also to a knowledge of the earlier past, not only as regards the tribal system in Wales, but also as regards other tribal systems, of which so little is known, but which have, nevertheless, made large contributions to the economic structure of modern European society.

[NOTE.—In the Extents (8 Ed. I.) of some districts in Cardiganshire quoted in the document added as Appendix F to this edition (p. 108), the commots are described as held in so many '*Westuas*,' each of five '*Randirs*,' and each Westua pays four marks per annum of 'rent of assise,' and also services of providing food for the chief with his family on the yearly progress, as well as that of his huntsmen and youths with dogs and falconers with birds, 'which service is called "Westua." ' The document itself is of A.D. 1306 (34 Ed. I.), but the Extents quoted are of A.D. 1280, *i.e.* fifty-five years earlier than the Denbigh Extent.]

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM AND THE CHURCH.

I. THE IMMUNITY OF THE CHURCH FROM THE EXACTIONS OF TRIBAL CHIEFTAINS.

WE have now to consider another element which strikes from outside like a wedge into the Welsh Tribal System.

It has already been noticed that the so-called Manor of Aberffraw was divided into two sections by the parish of Cadwaladr or Eghissel. This parish had two churches, one of which has perished. The surviving one contains the well-known stone with the inscription, supposed to be of the seventh century, in memory of St. Cadwaladr's grandfather, *Cadvan*, who reigned at Aberffraw about A.D. 616–630.

St. Beuno's monastery at Clynnoc.

The Aberffraw chieftains made many donations to churches. Cadvan himself, according to the legends, had been converted by St. Beuno, and the church at Aberffraw—the church of the Palace—and the one at Trefdraeth, were both dedicated to that saint. St. Beuno's monastery at Clynnoc on the Carnarvonshire side of the Menai Straits was the gift of Cadvan's son Cadwallon.

The tradition of the gift of the site of this monastery is recorded shortly in the confirmatory charter

of Edward I.[1] made after the conquest of North Wales on the evidence of the rector of the collegiate church of Clynnoc which had succeeded to the monastery.

> 'A certain *Gwithenit* gave his own villa of Clynnok Vawr to God and St. Beuno, then Abbot of Clynnok Vawr, for his soul and the soul of his *consobrinus* Catwalinus *sine censu Regali, et sine consule, sine proprietate alicui, quamdiu fuerit lapis in terra.*'

In the legendary life of St. Beuno the story of this gift is given more at length.

After the death of Cadvan (about A.D. 616) St. Beuno is said to have visited Aberffraw in order to purchase land from his son and successor, Cadwallon. In exchange for a golden rod (*guaell eur*) worth 60 cows,[2] which Conan (or Cynan)[3] son of Brochwel (Prince of Powys), had given to St. Beuno to be used as money, Cadwallon gave to the Saint a place called *Gwaredauc*, in Carnarvonshire. After he had built his church, and was walling in the boundaries, the title to the land was disputed by a woman to whom a child had been born, and who now claimed the land as the inheritance (*tref y tat*) of her child. She was perhaps the Cymric widow of an *aillt*, whose child had inheritance by maternity. Immediately St. Beuno went with the woman to Cadwallon, who, possibly, had treated the land as escheat, and demanded either other land or return of the golden rod. The Prince,

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[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 257.

[2] It is clear that the golden rod was used as money, and equated with the cow, the usual unit of value.

[3] Cynan, son of Brochwel, invaded Glamorgan after Cadoc's death.—*Lives of Camb. Saints*, p. 375.

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having refused his demand, was left by St. Beuno under a curse. Whereupon his cousin Guidevit

> 'for the sake of his soul and of the soul of his cousin Cadwallon, gave to God and Beuno for ever his *tref* called *Kelynnawc* (Clynnoc) without tribute (*heb vab*), without service (*heb ardreth*), &c.'[1]

The practical result of donations such as these to the saints and to the Church appears to have been to take the land so given once for all and absolutely from under the control of the chieftain of the district, and all tribal tribute and service to him.

Immunities of the church of Cadwaladr.

Thus, in the 'Record of Carnarvon,' the land belonging to the church of St. Cadwaladr was described as follows :—

> 'EGHISSEL is a free villa and held of *St. Cadewaladre the King* and there are in this villa two *weles* (*wele* Ith ap Tanherñ and *wele* Welsonfraide ap Tanherñ) and the heirs are so and so. And nothing is thence rendered to the Prince per annum, nor do they make suit to either comot or hundred, nor pay reliefs nor amobr. And they say they are free to grind in their own houses; but they say that they owe appearance at two great turns of our lord Prince per annum for all other services. And in the second *wele* there are 3½ bovates escheated, which the *Communitas* of this villa now holds. *Summa per annum*, vii.*s*.'[2]

Legendary miracles in defence of immunities.

It is important to observe further in how many cases the miraculous stories attributed to the Welsh saints in the legends turn upon the necessity of constantly guarding this freedom of Church lands from ordinary obligations to the tribal chieftains. Thus, to take another example from the life of St. Beuno, the same Cynan, Prince of Powys, who had given him the golden rod, had also granted to St. Beuno a place called Gwydelwerun in Merionethshire, on which he had erected a church. But it happened that Cynan's

[1] *Lives of Cambrian Saints*, p. 16 and p. 304.

[2] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 46.

nephews, in the ordinary course of a hunting expedition, came upon the land, and, according to tribal custom, claimed hospitality. St. Beuno acceded to their request and gave them a young ox for their meal; but, by a miracle, prevented the fire from boiling the meat, and afterwards cursed them for 'demanding tribute and service (*mal ar dreth*) from what their fathers had given to God *free* (*yn ryd*).'[1]

Again, in the Life of St. Brynach,[2] a saint of South Wales, who lived before the first visitation of the Yellow Death, *i.e.* before A.D. 547, a somewhat similar story is told. A certain chieftain named *Clechro*, with the concurrence of his sons, granted his land to St. Brynach, the sons becoming disciples of the saint and he himself retiring to Cornwall. *Maelgwn*, coming that way with his retinue, demanded entertainment (*cena*). The saint, to preserve his rights, declined. Whereupon the king's servants seized upon a cow. But with all their efforts the fire would not cook the meat, and seeing the miracle the king humbly submitted, and after having partaken of the hospitality now freely offered by the saint, confirmed his privileges, and made a further grant of land according to the record in the following words. These evidently follow a common form, though by no means certainly of the sixth century:—

[3] 'In nomine Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi te [St. Brynach] et locum tuum totumque territorium ad locum tuum pertinens; necnon omnes in eo commanentes, ab omni regia exactione in perpetuum libero; insuper terram *Thelych* monachi ditioni tue liberam assigno: qui ergo contra hanc donationem meam de cetero venire presumserit Dei maledictionem omniumque fidelium Christi et meam celeriter incurrat.'

[1] *Camb. Saints*, pp. 15 and 302.

[2] *Ib.* p. 10, from *Cotton MS. Vesp.* xiv. fol. 77, B.M.

[3] *Ib.* p. 12, from same MS. fol. 80.

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The immunities granted to Llandaff.

Contemporary with St. Brynach was St. Teilo, the founder of the church of Llandaff, whose privileges are thus given in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' evidently following a later and elaborately worded common form framed to withdraw the Church property absolutely from secular or tribal control. Whatever its date, it none the less testifies to the completeness of the immunity claimed by the Church, and the sort of exactions to which property was otherwise liable under the tribal system.[1]

ỳholl cỳfreith didi	To enjoy all its laws
hac dỳ thir, hac di dair	and its lands, and its territories
rỳd o pop guasanaith breennin bỳdaul,	free from all regal and secular service
heb mair, heb cỳghellaur,	without mair, without canchyllor,
heb cỳhoith, dadl ma y meun gulat	without attendance at public courts of litigation
hac nỳ dieithỳr,	either in the district or out of it,
heb luỳd	without going on expeditions
heb gavaỳl, heb guỳlma:	without arrest, without keeping watch and ward:
ỳ cỳfreith idi yn hollaul,	with complete legal cognizance,
o leitỳr, o latrat, o treis,	of thief, of theft, of violence,
o dynnyorn o cỳnluỳn	of slaying, of waylaying,
hac o losc, o amrỳson canguaỳt a heb guaỳt,	of incendiarism, and contention with blood and without it,
y diruỳ hay camcul ỳndi didi ỳn hollaul,	with full right to fines and penalties for crimes,
o dorri nand ỳnnlann,	of violating the privilege of refuge,
hac ỳn dieỳthỳr lann,	either in or out of the precinct,
orachot ỳnn, luhỳn, hac dieithỳr luhỳn,	of attack, secret or open,
o cỳrch ỳpopmỳnnic ar tir Teliau	of assaults anywhere on the land of Teilo,
hay guir hay braut dỳ lỳtu ỳruluỳs ỳgundig Teliau ỳnn Lanntaff.	and with its right and jurisdiction over its dependents at the White House of Teilo at Llandaff.

[1] 'No one who has any knowledge of Old Welsh will for a moment believe that Geoffrey, or any of his contemporaries, could have

Now, whatever may be thought of the authenticity or antiquity of these legendary origins of ecclesiastical property, and of its immunity from all *census terrenus* or *census regalis*, *i.e.* from tribute or food rents to secular chieftains, the contention that it ought to be thus free was quite consistent with the claims of the Gallic Church in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Immunity from all *census terrenus* early claimed by the Church.

Amongst the canons included in the collection of so-called Irish canons, to which, however, Mr. Bradshaw assigned a Breton origin, is one headed '*De censu non dando super ecclesiam*,' and St. Augustine is quoted: '*si ipsi filii liberi sunt a censu in quolibet regno terreno, quanto magis filii regni illius, sub quo sunt omnia terrena regna.*' And St. Ambrose is quoted as saying: '*Ecclesia catholica libera est ab omni censu.*'[1]

The phraseology of these passages coincides closely with that of the legendary donations.

But it is possible that the grant to St. Teilo went exceptionally far. It not only gave immunity from all *census terrenus*, but transferred judicial jurisdiction from the *brenhin*, or king, to the bishop. The general immunity according to the Codes did not always go so far as this. Thus, in the Venedotian Code is the following statement:—

Limited in the Codes.

> 'No land is to be without a *brenhin* (*dyurenhyn*). If it be abbey land he [the *brenhin*] is to have (if they be laics) dirwy and camlwrw and amobyr and ebediw and hosts (*llwyd*) and theft (*lledrat*). If it be bishop's land he is to have hosts and theft. If it be hospital land he is to have theft and fighting (*ymlad*), and therefore there is no land without him.'[2]

written the Welsh of Teilo's "Privilegium" or of the boundaries.' *Book of Llan Dav* (preface), p. xxii and p. 120.

[1] *Wasserschleben*, p. 79.

[2] *Venedotian Code*, II. xii. 8.

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It may well be that the tribal chieftain of the time of Howel had become jealous of ecclesiastical encroachments, and did not willingly acquiesce in the admission of the absolute immunity claimed by the Church in the sixth century. Certain it is, however, that nothing could be more complete than the royal admission of absolute immunity to the successors of St. Beuno and the collegiate church of Clynnoc immediately after the conquest. No stronger words could be used than those of the royal confirmatory charter of Edward I. above alluded to. It recited and confirmed the royal gift to St. Beuno with immunities as complete 'as though it were an island in the midst of the sea' (*sicut insula in medio maris*).

But admitted completely on the conquest of N. Wales.

It is also a remarkable feature of the Denbigh extent that among the names of the numerous *villatæ* belonging to the honour or lordship there are scarcely any with the common prefix *Llan*, the fact being that the lordship was honeycombed with ecclesiastical 'islands' of the kind mentioned, over which the secular lordship had no jurisdiction.

In the same way the Extents comprised in the 'Record of Carnarvon' are full of *lacunæ*, to be filled up only by adding the 'islands' of ecclesiastical territory.

II. THE NATURE OF THE EARLY RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

If the records of donations to the Church were of only ecclesiastical interest, it might be left to the ecclesiastical historian to examine them in detail.

But, as they contain the earliest evidence within

reach of the actions and habits and character of Cymric chieftains, they cannot be wholly ignored in an attempt to understand the Cymric tribal system.

First contact of Cymric chieftains with the churches.

Any real evidence dating back to the first contact of the successors of Cunedda with the saints of the sixth century, if contemporary, must needs bristle with incidental details which cannot fail to be precious in the absence of more direct evidence.

Therefore, both as regards the relations between the tribal system and the Church, and as regards the tribal system itself, the attempt must be made to form a sound judgment upon the difficult question of their authenticity.

They suffer from their connection with the legends of the miraculous lives of the saints to whose churches they were made, and from the suspicion of interested motives in the scribes of the twelfth century, by whom they were collected and copied, and perhaps in some cases forged.

There is, no doubt, ground for suspicion and caution. But this is quite another thing from wholesale rejection.

Nature of the early records of donations; not charters but notes of transactions.

Part of the difficulty disappears when the records are approached as they evidently ought to be, not as charters, but as simple notes or records of transactions. They seldom, if ever, profess to be documents made by and under the signature of the donors. They are mostly expressed in the third person, and profess to record solemn acts and to state who were the witnesses before whom they were transacted. When it is observed that the first of the witnesses may be '*Deus omnipotens*,' or the saint, long at rest, at whose altar the transaction took

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place, the character of the record becomes at once apparent.

Sometimes written in the margin of Gospels,

When the record was written in the margin of a richly illuminated copy of the 'Gospels,' as was often the case, it becomes all the more obvious that we are not dealing with charters in the ordinary sense, but with acts done under solemn religious sanctions and placed under the protection of the altar at which the transaction took place.

and, as in the 'Book of Deer,' copied from one book to another.

Several such records were written, for instance, in the 'Book of Deer' in the vernacular Gaelic of Scotland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This copy of the Gospels does not claim to have been itself written before the ninth century, but the first of the entries, probably made in the eleventh century, is the record of the original foundation of the monastery in the sixth century.

Thus it appears that if a sacred copy of the Gospel came into the possession of an abbey at a certain date there would be no inconsistency in the records originally made in a copy earlier in use being transferred to it by a copyist. So in the 'Book of Deer' the initial entry and the records of several of the earlier grants are all in one handwriting, and were written probably at the same time.[1]

And thus may be modified without fraud.

Obviously, therefore, it is by no means certain that there is fraud wherever the language or handwriting of an entry betrays that it is not contemporary. And, further, it was obviously so much easier a thing to modify an existing entry for a purpose in transcribing it than to forge an entirely new docu-

[1] *Book of Deer*, Mr. Stuart's preface, p. xxv.

ment that there might be fraudulent alteration without material departure from the original form of the record. CHAP. VII.

There is another point of negative evidence in favour of the substantial correctness of the records of donations in the margins of Gospels, or presumably copied from them.

In the legendary lives of Welsh saints it often happens, as in the two cases above alluded to, that a miraculous story is the prelude to a record of donation which follows a legal formula, and makes no mention of the miracle. When this is the case the inference is natural that the formal record gave rise to the legend rather than the legend to the record. Remarkably free from miracles.

As we proceed to examine some of these records, it will be recognised that, while they are full of little archaic touches, belonging to a very early period, they are almost entirely free from the miraculous elements which are rampant in the twelfth century legendary lives of the saints to whose monasteries the donations were made.

III. THE MS. ENTRIES IN THE 'BOOK OF ST. CHAD.'

The illuminated Gospel, called the 'Book of St. Chad,' was, according to Mr. Bradshaw, transferred to St. Chad's Church, at Lichfield, before 964–973, because it bears the signature of Wynsige, Bishop of Lichfield, whose episcopacy covered those years.[1] Ninth-century entry in the Book of St. Chad.

The earliest entry was evidently made whilst the book itself was in possession of St. Teilo's Church, at Llandaff. The handwriting of the entry was con-

[1] *Collected Papers*, p. 459.

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sidered by Mr. Bradshaw to belong to the early part of the ninth century. It is as follows:—

'Ostenditur hic quod emit + gelhi + filius ariht iud hoc evangelium de cingal et dedit illi pro illo equum optimum et dedit pro anima sua istum evangelium deo et sancto teliaui super altare. + Gelhi + filius aryht iud . . . et + cincenn + filius gripiud.'[1]

'Here is shown that Gelhi the son of Ariht iud bought this gospel from Cingal and gave to him for it a "best horse," and gave for his soul this gospel to God and St. Teilo upon the altar. + Gelhi, son of Aryht iud . . . et Cincenn the son of Gripiud.'

Further entry.

The next entry carries us a step further, in that it shows that Elcu, the son of Gelhi, was in possession of a property called the land of Telih.

'Surexit tutbulc filius liuit ha gener tutri dierchim *Tir Telih* haioid ilau elcu filius gelhig haluidt juguret amgucant pel amtanndi ho diued diprotant gener *tutri* o guir imguodant ir degion guragun tagc rodesit *elcu* guetig equs tres uache, tres uache nouidligi namin ir ni be câs igridu dimedichat guetig bit did braut grefiat guetig nis minn tutbulc hai cenetl in ois oisoud.

'+ *teliau* testis *gurgint* testis *cynhilinn* testis *sp's* testis tota familia teliaui. De laicis *numin map aidan* testis, *signou map jacou* testis *berthutis* testis *cinda* testis.

'Quicunque custodierit benedictus erit, quicunque frangerit maledictus erit.'[2]

'*Tutbulc*, the son of *Liuit*, and son in law of *Tudri*, arose to claim the land of TELIH which was in the possession of *Elcu* the son of *Gelhi* and the tribe of *Juguret*: he complained long about it: at last they dispossess the son-in-law of *Tudri* of his right. The nobles said to one another, "Let us make peace": *Elcu* gave afterwards a horse, three cows, three newly calved cows, provided only there be no hostility between them from this reconciliation thenceforward to the day of doom. *Tutbulc* and his people will require afterwards no title for ever and ever. . . .

'Whoever shall keep his shall be blessed, whoever shall break it shall be cursed.'

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[1] *Book of Llan Dav*, preface p. xliii.

[2] *Ibid.* p. xliii, where also the accompanying somewhat tentative translation is given. Mr. Bradshaw considered the handwriting tenth century. The two Gelhis may nevertheless be the same person, as the second record may have been written after the transaction.

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This record connects the family of Elcu, son of Gelhi, who bought the Gospel from Cyngal (?), with the family of Tutbulc, the son of Liuit, and the dispute between the two families related to the land of Telih; but there is nothing to show that the land of Telih belonged to Llandaff.

Coincidences with the 'Book of Llan Dav.'

But, in the 'Book of Llan Dav'[1] there is a record confirming to Llandaff the ownership of the *Cella Cyngualan*, in Gower, which it states had belonged to St. Dubricius and St. Oudoceus, but had been lost in the first visitation of the 'Yellow Death.'

And there is also another record of about A.D. 929,[2] which states that *grifud rex, filius jugein*, to make amends, *inter alia*, for a violation of the refuge of the monastery of St. Cingual, granted to Llandaff, *Penn ibei in Rosulgen* (*i.e.* Rosilli in Gower). And in the boundaries appended to the donation, the land thus granted is described as touching in one place '*usque ad agrum cinguali*,' and in another a modius of land '*juxta telich*.'[3]

This tenth-century record of the boundaries thus shows that the monastery or cell of St. Cingual was adjoining to *Telich*, and that both were in the peninsula of Gower, adjoining Rossilli. This proximity suggests that Gelhi may have bought the Gospel from the monastery of St. Cingual, and given it to St. Teilo, at Llandaff, as it was afterwards transferred from Llandaff to St. Chad, at Lichfield.

In the very next record in the 'Book of Llan Dav,'[4] probably of between A.D. 961 and 967 (in the reign of King Edgar), Morgan Hen, King of Glamorgan,

[1] *Book of Llan Dav*, p. 144.
[2] *Ib.* p. 239.
P. 240.
[4] P. 240.

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described as 'Morcant, son of ẏugein,' is said to restore and confirm to Llandaff all the territories which had belonged to it in the time of St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Oudoceus, naming certain churches and their territories. Amongst these is 'Machumur, *i.e.* Lann Liuit,' and in its boundaries occur the words 'across to Is Guaissaf, of liquallaun, the son of Tutbulch.'

These boundaries connect the land of *Lann Liuit* with *Tutbulc*. This, again, is an incidental corroboration of the entries in the 'Book of St. Chad,' where Tutbulc is said to be the son of Liuit.

Record of an emancipation by four brothers.

The next three records, written in the 'Book of St. Chad,' are of more direct interest. They are roughly dated by the mention of Nobis,[1] Bishop of Llandaff, who was translated to St. David's, A.D. 840. The first is a manumission by four brothers of one Blethiud, the son of Sulgen, *et semini suo in sempiternum*, on payment of four pounds (or, possibly, four cows), and eight ounces, presumably, of silver.[2]

This is interesting, as a ninth-century example of a case resembling that of St. Patrick, viz. of the family ownership of slaves, or of *aillts*, or *taeogs*, and of the emancipation of a whole stock or family, like that already quoted, of a *gwely* of *nativi* by the Bishop of St. Asaph.

It is imperfect, but it is supposed to read thus:—

Nobis . necesse est scribere literas quod IIII filii bledri gu[or ti]girnn [cim]ulch et . . . arthuis dederunt libertatem bleidiud filio

[1] Mr. Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*, p. 460. Nobis is described by Asser, in his *Life of Alfred*, as his *propinquus*.

[2] Four cows = one pound of silver, and the worth of a bondman was one pound in the Codes. The final letters, 'as,' are the only letters remaining, the margin of the record being injured.

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sulgen et semini suo in sempiternum pro precio . atque hoc est [confirmatio] quod dedit pro libertate ejus quatuor [libr]as [or vaccas] et oc[to u]ncias. Coram idoneis [his t]estibus:

DE LAICIS Riguo[llau]n filius [coff]ro guen . . . filius . . . r guoluic filius . . . dan Ov . . . filius guur[cinn]im . mer[chgu]inn filius salus arthan filius cimulch judri filius judnerth.

De clericis vero Nobis episcopus teiliav saturnguid sacerdos teiliav. Dubrino et cuhelin filius episcopis, saturnbiu cam ibiav et sulgen scholasticus qui hec fideliter scripsit . . . Qui custodierit, etc.

Two donations of ninth century with food-rents.

The other two are records of ninth-century donations, of a *tref* with a *census* or food-rent.

The items of this census were:—In the first case, two score loaves and a wether in the summer and two score loaves and a sow and two score sucking pigs in winter; in the second case, three score loaves and a wether and a vessel of butter—thus resembling the summer and winter *dawnbwyds* of the *taeog trefs* of the Codes, though not absolutely identical in all the details, and taking back the system of food-rents a century earlier than the Codes.

The records are difficult, both in the reading of the manuscript entries, and in translation; but, as interpreted in Mr. Evans's edition of the 'Book of Llan Dav,' sufficiently intelligible for the present purpose.[1]

Ostendit ista scriptio quod dederunt ris et luith grethi treb guidauc imalitiduch cimarguith-[i]eit, hic est census ejus . douceint torth ha maharuin . in irham . ha douceint torth in irgaem . ha huch . ha [do]uceint mannuclenn . deo et sancto eliudo . deus testis .

This writing shows that Ris and Luith Grethi gave Trefguidauc. As story tellers say, this is its census, two score loaves and a wether in the summer, and two score loaves in the winter, and a sow and two score sucking pigs, to God and St. Eliud. God witness,

[1] *Book of Llan Dav*, preface, p. xlv.

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saturnnguid testis . nobis testis . guurci testis cutulf testis . de laicis cinguernn testis . collbiu testis . cohorget testis . ermin testis . . . hourod testis . quicunque custodierit benedictus erit et qui franxerit maledictus erit a deo.

Saturnguid witness, Nobis witness, Guurci witness, Cutulf witness. Of the laity, Cinguernn witness, Collbiu witness, Cohorget Ermin witness, Hourod witness, Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed and whoever shall break it shall be cursed of God.

Osdendit ista conscriptio quod dederunt *ris* hahir . . . . ha . . rdid ha *gurci* . r . . . . . g . . . . . g . . . . cibracma . behet hirmain guidauc . ofoid celli irlath . behet cam dubr . isem hichet triuceint torth . h[a maha] ruin . ha guorthoueir emeninn . . deus omnipotens testis . saturnnguid sacerdos testis . nobis testis . gurci testis . cutulf testis . de laicis . cinguern testis . [collbiu] testis . cohorget [testis] . ermin testis . [quicunque custo]dierit [bene]dictu[s erit . et] qui fra[nxer]it . m[aledic]tus . er[it . a deo].

This writing shows that Ris &c. . . . gave . . . Guidauc . . . as far as . . . its tribute three score loaves and a wether and . . . butter. God Almighty witness, Saturnguid priest witness, Nobis witness, Gurci witness, Cutulf witness. Of the laity: Cinquern witness, [Collbiu] witness, Cohorget [witness], Ermin witness. Whosoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever breaks it shall be cursed by God.

There can be no reason to doubt for one moment the authenticity of these records written on the margins of the Gospel of St. Chad, and they are important not only in their subject-matter but also as a link in the chain of evidence as regards the practical authenticity of the records of earlier donations.

IV. THE EVIDENCE OF GILDAS.

Maelgwn's conquest of S. Wales.

None of the records in the 'Book of St. Chad' are of very early date; but they clear the ground for the consideration of the many donations to churches in South Wales, which so far as the transactions recorded are concerned, refer to the period immediately

succeeding the Cymric conquest of South Wales by Maelgwn.

Yellow Death, A.D. 547.

Maelgwn is said to have died in the first visitation of the Yellow Death, *i.e.* about A.D. 547. This date is approximately fixed by the mention of its ravages, both in Irish and Welsh records.[1]

Many of the early donations to churches in South Wales are recorded in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' St. Dubricius and St. Teilo being the reputed founders of that see. The witnesses to many of these records are the abbots, or heads, as well as members of the three monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin, who appear thus to be in close connection, both geographically and spiritually, with the Church or Bishopric of Llandaff.

Monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin.

Besides the records of donations in the 'Book of Llan Dav' are others still more remarkable appended to the legendary life of St. Cadoc, in a twelfth-century MS. in the British Museum,[2] printed, though very incorrectly, in Rees's 'Lives of Cambro-British Saints.'

Donations to St. Cadoc.

Whether the records were contemporary or not, all the donations to St. Cadoc belong, so far as the subject-matter is concerned, to the time preceding and following the first occurrence of the Yellow Death (A.D. 547).

Contemporary with Gildas.

This is precisely the period as regards which there exists the contemporary evidence of Gildas. Whatever facts, therefore, can be extracted from

[1] See Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 101, quoting from the *Ulster Annals*, A.D. 545-548 for the appearance of the '*mortalitas magna*' in Ireland. The *Annales Cambriæ* give the date A.D. 547.

[2] *Cotton MS.*, Vesp. A. xiv. Brit. Mus.

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his 'turgid rhetoric' ought to throw light on the donations—the authenticity of both being granted.

That Christianity had been introduced from Gaul during the Roman period there can be no doubt. And the lamentations of Gildas, for what they are worth, are evidence of the condition of things during the century following the Roman withdrawal from Britain and the struggle with the Saxon invaders. Coincident with the Roman withdrawal was the coming of Cunedda and his sons in North Wales, and Gildas wrote during the Cymric conquest of South Wales under Maelgwn. The decay of the Roman peace in Britain, succeeded by the breaking up of the united action of British chieftains when the stress of resistance to the Saxons was over, had resulted, according to Gildas, in civil wars. These wars were, moreover, quarrels between nominally Christian rulers.

Civil wars of British chieftains.

That Gildas wrote his lamentations like a Hebrew prophet in declamatory and stilted language may be granted, but in the main he doubtless 'did well to be angry,' and it is impossible to believe that, writing in this spirit, he should not have alluded to the coming of the Yellow Death as a scourge from heaven if it were either past or present when he wrote. Further than this, his diatribe against Maelgwn himself, who died of that plague, seems to prove that Gildas wrote before its ominous date.

Gildas wrote before the Yellow Death.

In an undoubtedly confused passage Gildas speaks of the battle of *Mons Badonis* as having occurred in the first month of the forty-fourth year [of his own age?], and as marking the close of the struggle against

the invading Saxons. A considerable time must have elapsed since that date to account for his adding—

> 'And yet not even now are the cities reinhabited, but, deserted and destroyed, they lie waste to this day, an end having come to external wars, but not indeed to civil wars.' [1]

An old man when he wrote.

Evidently the writer was now an old man, for he speaks of the generation which had experienced the 'terrible desolation' as having departed, and of a new generation as having risen up. Again, in his preface, he speaks of having delayed his epistle ten years or more, and describes himself as now at last discharging his debt long ago due,[2] constrained by the entreaties of his brethren, in a style which he admits to be severe against evil-doers, but, nevertheless, 'faithful and friendly to all young soldiers of Christ' (*Christi tyronibus*).

The dates are doubtful, but even if 43 in A.D. 516 (the date of the battle of Badon Hill according to the *Annales Cambriæ*), Gildas, having previously written his work, would be 74 at the time of the Yellow Death (A.D. 547). And having survived its visitation he may possibly have lived to ninety-eight at his retreat in the bay of Morbihan, where he is said to have died, A.D. 570, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*.[3]

Died A.D. 570.

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[1] *Hist. Gildæ*, c. xxvi.

[2] 'Debitum multo tempore antea exactum.'

[3] It is quite true that Bede read the passage referring to the battle on *Mons Badonis* as stating that it occurred in the forty-fourth year from the arrival of the Saxons, but the event last mentioned by Gildas was the leadership of Ambrosius, to which his '*Ex eo tempore*' may refer and from which his forty-three years may have run, thus making

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The main point is that the evidence of Gildas was contemporary with the sixth-century donations, and its value consists in the light it throws upon the contact of the tribal chieftains with the Church in the most Romanised part of Britain still left to the Britons.

Roman names of British chieftains.

That the British chieftains of the older (probably Goidelic [1]) race had acquired, to say the least, a Roman varnish which still lingered in their names, is shown in the mention by Gildas of Constantine of Dumnonia and Aurelius Conanus (probably of Powys).

Many overthrown by Maelgwn.

That even Cunedda himself was to some extent Romanised may well be believed, but that Cunedda's invasion was a Cymric tribal migration seems equally clear. The conquest of Maelgwn in the south, depriving many of the older chieftains, as Gildas puts it, 'of their kingdoms and their lives,'

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the date of his birth A.D. 473. Bede may have put a wrong construction on the passage as we have it. Recent writers have indeed assumed that he did so, but to fall themselves, as it would seem, into a greater difficulty, by reading the passage as meaning that Gildas was writing in the forty-fourth year of his age, having been born in the year of the battle. This can hardly be a correct reading, for in the first place if only forty-four when he wrote, he could hardly have assumed so completely the tone of an old man, and in the next place forty-four years from the battle (516 + 44) would make the date of his writing A.D. 560, which is an impossible date, as it would be after the Yellow Death, and Maelgwn would by that time have been ten years in his grave. Thus it seems possible to adhere to the dates of the *Annales Cambriæ* after all, as consistent with the facts.

[1] The inscriptions of the Roman and post-Roman period, both Latin and bilingual, in Roman letters and in Oghams, are, according to Professor Rhys, mainly Goidelic, if the test word *mac* instead of *map* may be trusted.

was an extension of the same tribal invasion. Roman civilisation, we may believe, no longer softened the character of the great-grandsons of Cunedda. The crimes which Gildas deplored were the crimes of the old tribal nature cropping up again—gross crimes of murder and incest—deepened in his view by the fact that they were the crimes of chieftains who, in childish superstition and the blind impulse of remorse, had professed Christian conversion and become children of the Church.

Crimes of Cymric chieftains and their submission to the Church.

Gildas represents these chieftains and their relations as entering the monasteries and submitting to penances and penalties, and then breaking out again into crime.

The sister of the wife of Cuneglasse, according to Gildas, had taken the vow of holy virginity. And Maelgwn himself not only had been under Christian training, but also, in a moment of remorse after crime, had taken the monastic vow before he committed the fresh crimes of murder and incest of which Gildas accused him.

Maelgwn's monastic vow soon broken.

The Church had evidently set itself to convert these tribal chieftains, and they or members of their families rushed into her offices and assumed her dignities. This is contemporary evidence, and at least lends some colour to the genealogies which make the chief saints of South Wales—St. David, St. Teilo, and St. Dubricius—closely allied in blood with the royal family of Cunedda and his descendants.

Cymric pedigree of saints.

Nor is Gildas silent on the ecclesiastical side of these transactions.

When he feels himself bound to speak of the '*malitiæ episcoporum vel cæterorum sacerdotum aut*

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clericorum in nostro quoque ordine,' and accuses Constantine, King of the Dumnonii, of the murder of royal youths with sword and javelin at the very altar under shadow of the abbot's cloak, his evidence is good that there were bishops and abbots, as well as priests and monks of his own order, in the monasteries and churches of South Wales and Britain.

Ecclesiastical abuses blamed by Gildas.

Nor can it be possible to disregard the nature of the ecclesiastical sins deplored, however much his language may bear the impress of exaggeration. The worldliness and sensuality of clerks neglecting spiritual duties; the simony of both priests and bishops buying their ecclesiastical dignities from tyrannical princes, or crossing the seas and travelling far to obtain them, and returning with foolish ostentation and pomp; the apathy and want of courage in the better class of clergy in standing out against the evil of others and imposing the proper penances on them for their sins—all this as the evidence of an eyewitness is helpful in judging of the records of transactions belonging to the same period.

V. THE FORM OF CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

Form of sixth-century Continental records.

The direct and contemporary evidence of Gildas has brought us into the atmosphere in which the transactions recorded in the records of sixth-century donations, if authentic, took place.

The question of the authenticity of the records themselves may be approached from another point of view, viz. that of a comparison of their form as documents, and the formalities by which the donations themselves are described as accompanied,

with the forms and formalities in use during the same period on the Continent.

The Cymric tribal system was not the only one with which, on the break up of the Roman Government, the ecclesiastical system had to deal.

Donations to the Church under Merovingian rule.

Romanised as the Church itself was, its influences must needs have been to a large extent Roman, and in the Roman provinces of Gaul it evidently continued to follow and to represent Roman legal forms and principles in its action under Merovingian and even later rulers. And this was so in a modified sense even in its contact with the less Romanised tribes which fell under its influence—tribes who still adhered more or less to tribal custom. It is quite obvious that in the formation of the Alamannic and Bavarian Codes of the seventh century ecclesiastical influence was a strong factor. Not only had local custom to be codified, as in the case of the Welsh Codes, but a *modus vivendi* had to be found for the Church. The Codes, therefore, disclose the methods adopted by the ecclesiastics under Merovingian rule in securing the interests and property of the Church in districts newly conquered by the Franks.

These districts on the borders of Gaul had more or less, like Britain, been under the provincial rule of Rome. They therefore present many analogies with the most Romanised portions of South Wales. Hence there is at least some probability that the Church would use the same legal forms and methods in the one district as in the other. Why not? Especially in the case of donations to churches and monasteries, the monks were as likely to impose their own technical methods and legal formulæ in

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South Wales as in Gaul, and in the Alamannic and Bavarian districts. Happily the Cadoc and Llandaff records of donations can be compared with the Continental methods, and the comparison is the best direct test to which their genuineness can be put.

What, then, were the methods described in the Alamannic and Bavarian codes as regards these donations?

The *Leges Alamannorum Hlotharii* are considered to belong to the reign of the second prince of that name, A.D. 613–622.

The first clause is as follows[1]:—

The Alamannic Laws allow donations and fix their forms.

Ut si quis liber res suas vel semetipsum ad ecclesiam tradere voluerit, nullus habeat licentiam contradicere ei, non dux non comes nec ulla persona sed spontanea voluntate liceat christiano homini Deo servire et de proprias res suas semetipsum redemere. Et qui voluerit hoc facere per cartam de rebus suis ad ecclesiam, ubi dare voluerit, firmitatem faciat, et testes sex vel septem adhibeat, et nomina eorum ipsa carta contineat, et coram sacerdote qui ad ecclesiam deservit *super altare* ponat, et proprietas de ipsas res ad illam ecclesiam in perpetuo permaneat.

That if any freeman wishes to hand over his property or his own person to the Church, no one shall have license to thwart him, neither duke nor count nor any person, but of his own free will it shall be lawful for a Christian man to serve God and to redeem himself with his own property. And whoever wishes to do this shall confirm by charter what he wishes to give of his property to the Church, and shall produce six or seven witnesses, and the charter shall contain their names, and in the presence of the priest who serves at the church he shall place it upon the altar, and the property in those things shall remain for ever to that church.

The point of this enactment is to allow freemen, subject to Roman law, to make donations to the Church, and it prescribes the form in which it is to be done by charter, naming the witnesses, the donor in presence of the priest placing the charter on the altar.

[1] Pertz, *Legum* iii. p. 45; and Mon. Germ. Hist. *Leges Alamannorum*, p. 68.

Also the Bavarian Laws.

The Bavarian laws have the same provision, but also define what the donor may give, viz. *de portione sua postquam cum filiis suis partivit*—his own portion after division with his sons—according to the provisions of the Roman law. The outward formality is required that the witnesses should place their hands upon the *epistola*, which is then to be placed on the altar. The subject of the donation was thenceforth to remain the absolute property of the Church, and neither the donor nor his sons could disturb it unless the representative of the Church should choose to allow the donor to hold it as a benefice.[1]

Retention by the donor of the usufruct as a benefice paying a *census*.

This last clause brings before us another very common feature of early donations, which is more fully described in the following passage from the Alamannic laws, viz. the custom to allow the donor to retain the use of the property granted to the Church by way of usufruct, paying the *census* of the land in the meantime to the Church.

Si quis liber qui res suas ad ecclesiam dederit et per cartam firmitatem fecerit sicut superius dictum est, et post hæc a pastore ecclesiæ per beneficium susceperit ad victualem necessitatem conquirendam diebus vitæ suæ: et quod spondit persolvat ad ecclesiam *censum* de illa terra, et hoc per epistulam firmitatis fiat, ut post ejus discessum nullus de heredibus non contradicat.[2]

If any freeman who shall have given his property to the Church and confirmed it by charter as before said, and afterwards shall have received it as a benefice from the pastor of the Church as a provision for his bodily needs for the days of his life, let him pay what he has promised to the Church as *census* from that land, and let this be done by a letter of confirmation, in order that after his decease none of his heirs shall gainsay it.

[1] 'Nisi defensor ecclesiæ ipsius beneficium præstare voluerit ei.' Title 1, c. 1, Pertz, *Legum* iii. p. 270.

[2] Pertz, *Legum* iii. p. 45; and Mon. Germ. Hist. *Leges Alamannorum*, p. 66. E, Cod. B.

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Donations of this kind, reserving the usufruct to the donor as a *beneficium* or *precaria*, are of very common occurrence among those made to the Abbot of St. Gall in the eighth century.[1]

Roman law also permitted a donation with a simple reservation of the usufruct.[2] And that in the sixth century it was a common thing for a donor to make a donation retaining the usufruct is shown by the mention of it in the Rules of St. Benedict :—

Sanctioned by the Rules of St. Benedict.

> 'If they wish to offer something to the monastery for their salvation, they shall make a donation of the things which they wish to give to the monastery: *retaining the usufruct for themselves, if they wish.*'[3]

Hence there were donations of two kinds: (1) those in which the property given was occupied by tenants paying a *census* and transferred to the Church, in which case the Church obtained the property and received the *census*; (2) those in which the donor, who might be also the occupant, retained the usufruct and paid the *census* to the Church. And instances of both kinds occur among the Cadoc donations.

The census fixed by custom.

Moreover, the *census* seems to have been in these cases a fixed customary food-rent. Whether on the *terra regis* or on the land of the Church there were two classes of tenants paying their legitimate *census* or *tributum* to the king or to the Church—*liberi* and *servi*.

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[1] *Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen* (Wartmann), Theil i., Nos. 3, 10, 17, 18, &c.

[2] *Dig. Just.* vii. 1; and *Codex*, viii. 53, *De Donationibus*; and *Cod. Theod.* viii. 12; and *Gaius*, ii. 33.

[3] Rule 59, '*reservato sibi, si ita voluerint usufructuario.*'

Thus, in the Alamannic laws it is enacted as follows :—

Liberi autem ecclesiastici, quos colonos vocant, omnes, sicut et coloni Regis, ita reddant ad ecclesiam.[1]	Freemen of the Church, who are called *coloni*, all shall render to the Church just as *coloni* of the king do.
XXII	XXII
Servi enim ecclesiæ tributa sua legitime reddant, quindecim siclas de cervisa, porcum valentem tremisse uno, panem modia duo, pullos quinque, ova viginti.	Let the servi of the Church render their tribute according to law, fifteen siclæ of beer, a pig worth a tremissis, two modii of bread, five hens and twenty eggs.

The normal *census* of *servus* 15 siclæ of beer, &c.

So that the law laid down actually what the legitimate or normal tribute or *census* of the unfree class of tenants, called *servi*, consisted of—viz. fifteen siclæ of beer, a pig worth a tremissis,[2] two modii of bread, five hens, and twenty eggs.

That this *census* of the typical servile holding was adhered to in the Alamannic district in the eighth century is proved by the very frequent occurrence of it and its double in the donations to St. Gall.[3] And it seems to have extended down the Rhine valley as a common usage.[4]

It was natural that the ecclesiastics should introduce their own Continental methods into the Romanised districts of South Wales. The Church was already more or less established in these districts, even in Roman times, and when it first came into contact with the conquering Cymric chieftains tribal and ecclesiastical methods must have come to some compromise.

[1] Tit. xxiii.

[2] The *tremissis* = 32 wheat grains weight of gold.

[3] *Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen*, Nos. 17, 18, 24, 33, &c.

[4] See *Codex Laureshamensis Diplomaticus*, iii. pp. 177 *et seq.*, where there are numerous cases of *hubæ serviles*, with a *census* of '*situlæ xv de cervisa, &c.*'

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Compromise in Wales between tribal rules and the legal methods of the ecclesiastics.

The donations in Wales were made, for the most part, by tribal chieftains, whose possessions were subject to the tribal custom of *tir gweliawc*. On the donor's side, therefore, tribal custom and habits, and not Roman law, must needs rule the form of the donation. Even a chieftain could not alienate family property without the consent of other members of his family. But, on the side of the Church, the recipients of the donation—the ecclesiastics—would bring their own forms and formulæ with them. They would insist that there must be the written charter with its witnesses. They would introduce the formal act of delivery by placing the writing on the altar or on the Gospels. If the transaction did not take place in a church, some other formality would be required. The placing of the writing upon the hand of the recipient, as we shall see, was the actual form most often adopted.

The transfer of a property, the food-rent or *census* of which had hitherto been paid to the donor or the chieftain, must here as elsewhere have meant the transfer to the donee of the right to receive the settled food-rent of that holding. The donation of a holding by the occupant, who desired still to retain the occupation, would here as elsewhere mean his payment of his food-rent to the Church instead of to his chieftain, and therefore would require his chieftain's consent. Such transactions would be certain to be mixed up with little archaic points of detail fitted to the time and locality; and, lastly, authentic records of donations would be hardly likely to make mention of miracles!

If on examination these various conditions are

found to be complied with, the reader will be able to judge how far it is probable that the records to which attention will now be turned, whether contemporary with the donations or not, were forgeries of a later hand, however cunningly desirous to aggrandise the episcopal see to which he might belong. And, at the same time, if substantially authentic, the reader will not fail to appreciate the value of the light they throw on the earlier conditions of tribal life.

VI. THE EARLY RECORDS OF DONATIONS IN THE 'BOOK OF LLAN DAV.'

Returning, then, to the 'Book of Llan Dav,' St. Dubricius and his companions may well have been among the 'youthful soldiers of Christ' to whom Gildas alluded.

Disciples of St. Dubricius placed in charge of churches as founded.

The legend describes Dubricius as embracing among his disciples the following, viz.:—Teilo, Samson, Ubeluius, Merchguinus, Elguoredus, Gunuinus, Congual, Arthbodu, Congur, Arguistil, Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elheharn, Judnou, Guordocui, Guernabui, Louan, Aidan, Cinuarch.[1]

These, with many others, are represented as living together in a kind of college, and afterwards as located in smaller groups in charge of churches as they were founded. The smaller groups formed thus little collegiate and missionary centres, whilst remaining in close communion and intercourse.[2]

Now, the 'Book of Llan Dav' records nine donations presumptively made to St. Dubricius during his

[1] *Book of Llan Dav*, p. 80.

[2] P. 81.

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lifetime, the witnesses to which generally include some of the above-mentioned disciples.

The first of these donations is as follows:—

Donation of son-in-law of Constantine.

Lann Custenhinn garth benni in Ercicg.

Sciendum est nobis quod Peipiau, rex filius erb . largitus est *mainaur garth benni* usque ad paludem nigrum inter siluam et campum et aquam et jaculum Constantini regis socri sui trans Guỳ amnem deo et Dubricio archiepiscopo sedis landauie . et junapeio consobrino suo pro anima sua et proscriptione nominis sui in libro uite cum omni sua libertate sine ullo sensu terreno et principatu paruo et modico nisi deo et sancto Dubricio seruientibus ecclesie Landauie in perpetuo tenuitque peipiau grafium super manum Dubricii sancti ut domus orationis et penitentie atque episcopalis locus in eternum fieret episcopis landauie et in testimonio . relictis ibi tribus discipulis suis ecclesiam illam consecrauit . De clericis testes sunt in primo Dubricius, Arguistil, Vbeluiu, Jouann, Junapius, Conuran, goruan. De laicis uero Peipiau rex testis, Custenhin, Guourir, dihiruc, Condiuill, guidgol, clem. Quicunque custodierit hanc elemosinam deo datam . custodiat illum deus . qui autem non seruauerit . destruat illum deus.[1]

The Church of Garth benni of Constantine in Erging.

Be it known to us that Peipiau, king, son of Erb, bestowed *Mainaur Garth benni*, up to the black marsh with wood, field, and water, and the casting-net of King Constantine, his father-in-law, across the River Wye, to God and Dubricius, Archbishop of Llandaff, and to Junapeius his own cousin, for his soul, and for the writing of his name in the Book of Life, with all its liberty without any earthly census and sovereignty smaller or greater except God and St. Dubricius, and the servants of the Church at Llandaff for ever. And Peipiau held the writing upon the hand of St. Dubricius in order that it might be for ever a house of prayer and penitence, and bishop's place for the Bishops of Llandaff. And in testimony leaving three of his disciples there, he consecrated that church. Of the clergy are witnesses, first Dubricius, Arguistil, Ubeluiu, Jonaun, Junapius, Conuran, Goruan. And of the laity Peipiau, king, is witness, Custenhin, Guourir, Dihiruc, Condiuill, Guidgol, Clem. Whosoever shall guard this alms given to God, God guard him. Whoso however shall not keep it, may God destroy him.

Now this is the record of a donation by Peipiau, son of Erb, king of Gwent and Erging, and son-in-law (*socer*) of Constantine, of a *mainaur* called the

[1] *Id.* p. 72.

Garthbenni of *Custenhin—i.e.* of Constantine. The donation is made to St. Dubricius and his cousin and disciple *Junapeius*, for the good of the donor's soul, and that his name might be written in the Book of Life, and it was to be held free from all secular tribute (*census terrenus*) for ever.

Possibly the Constantine reproved by Gildas.

Perhaps it would be going too far to connect this King Custenhin with the Constantine, king of the Dumnonii, who, as already mentioned, was reproved by Gildas for having slain at the altar two royal youths in the very year in which he was writing. At all events, this would be consistent with the entry in the *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 589, '*Conversio Constantini ad Dominum*,' and the tradition that he became a saint.

Form of Delivery.

Recurring to the phraseology of the record, the peculiarity in the form of delivery is worth notice, as the only case in which, in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' the writing is held by the donor upon the hand (*super manum*) of the ecclesiastical recipient.

Had the ceremony of delivery been completed in the church after the consecration, it would probably have been performed at the altar; but it could not be so in this case, as it preceded the consecration.

Hand placed on Gospels.

In another case Erb, the father of the last-mentioned donor, makes a donation of *unam tellurem de propria sua hereditate*, and in confirmation *misit manum super quattuor evangelia tenente beato Dubricio cum predicta tellure*.[1]

In another case two donors, before all the witnesses, *posuerunt hanc dotem super quattuor evangelia in perpetuo*, &c.[2]

[1] *Book of Llan Dav*, p. 75. [2] P. 75.

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Another record testifies that, *in primo tempore*, Noe,[1] the son of Arthur, gave to God and St. Dubricius *Pennalum*, *Lann Maur* on the Tyvi, and another site on the river Tam—*mittens*[2] *noe manum super quatuor evangelia et commendans in manu archiepiscopi Dubricii hanc elemosinam in perpetuo, &c.*—the witnesses again being his companions Arguistil, Ubelbiu, Jouann, Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elhearn, Judnou, Gurdocui, Guernabui.

Three churches of St. Teilo.

The last-mentioned donation was of the three places in which churches dedicated to St. Teilo exist, each of which, according to the legend, laid claim to his body, the first on the ground that at Pennally his ancestors were buried, the second because it was a place where he had dwelt with his disciples, the third, on the coast at the mouth of the Tam, because it was the place where he died. The donation contains no mention of the miracle vouched for by the legend whereby a body was provided for each of the three.

If this record be genuine, it refers to the original donation to St. Teilo in his lifetime of the three places where he made settlements and built churches, and which were therefore most closely identified with his name; and it does not profess to be a record contemporary with the grant. It distinctly states that the donation was made '*in primo tempore*,' the disciples of St. Dubricius being witnesses to the transaction, and not to the present record.

There is yet another of these records in the 'Book of Llan Dav' requiring particular notice.

[1] P. 77.

[2] *Leges Alamannorum*, ii. 2. Cf. '*qui manus suas in cartam miserunt*'; and see Brunner's *Zur Rechtsgeschichte der Römischen et Germanischen Urkunde*, p. 280.

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A royal relative of St. Cadoc 'immolates' his virgin daughter.

One of the disciples of St. Dubricius was Merchguinus. He is called in the record *Merchguinus Rex, filius gliuis—i.e.* he was one of the *sub reguli* of the family to which St. Cadoc belonged—and it states that under his rule a person named Guordoc (also one of the disciples of St. Dubricius) devoted (*immolavit*) his virgin daughter Dulon to the Church of Llandaff along with four modii of land, in Gower, *et communione tota regionis Guhiri in campo in aqua et in pascuis.*'[1]

Now it must be clearly understood that there is nothing to show that these records were contemporary records. They do not claim to be such. In one case a distinct disclaimer has been alluded to, the record speaking of the donation as having been made *in primo tempore*, which suggests a considerable interval.

The records do not claim to be contemporary. They record past events.

The donations themselves are recorded to have been made in all cases in the lifetime and presence of St. Dubricius and some of his disciples. In no case yet are the witnesses, as so often afterwards in the records in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' the abbots and members of the three little monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin. The inference is that they were made before these monasteries had been founded, *i.e.* in the first half of the sixth century.

There are, moreover, some geographical points connected with these early ecclesiastical settlements which should not be overlooked.

In the first place they are not in a Cymric district, but in a Goidelic district (Guir et Cetgueli,

[1] *Book of Llan Dav*, p. 76.

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i.e. Gower and Kidwelli), the chieftains of which had not long surrendered to the conquests of Maelgwn.[1]

The three settlements of St. Teilo were in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, and in what became the diocese of St. David.

Allusion has already been made to the dispute between Llandaff and St. Illtud, and ultimate confirmation to Llandaff of the cells of Cyngualan, Arthruodu, and Congur, and Pencreic, which had been lost to St. Dubricius in the Yellow Death. All these cells were in close neighbourhood in Gower, or adjacent parts of Glamorganshire.

Lastly, the three monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin were in close proximity to Llandaff.

Episcopacy not yet territorial.

When, therefore, the episcopacy became or was becoming territorial in South Wales, difficulties arose naturally out of the geographical position of St. Teilo's settlements, which, though in the territory of St. David's, naturally belonged to Llandaff, of which St. Teilo was the saint.

But at the time of these donations there was no ground for such difficulties. What bishops there were were not territorial. The Church in South Wales was monastic rather than episcopal. Or more correctly the missionary work of the Church was carried on by the foundation of little monastic churches or colleges of monks, some of whose members were bishops, but whose heads were the abbots.

And both the historical importance of these monastic churches and the time of their prevalence are

[1] *Historia Brittonum*, s. 14, and see Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 84–91.

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marked by the fact that the system which had originally spread from Gaul, through Brittany, into Wales, was carried over by the Irishman Finian, who was a disciple of St. David, St. Gildas, and St. Cadoc, into Ireland, becoming there the second of 'the three orders of Saints;' viz. that immediately following the order of St. Patrick.[1]

Monastic churches of the type introduced by St. Finian into Ireland.

VII. THE DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC.

We may now proceed to examine the records[2] of donations to St. Cadoc. They divide themselves into three groups when placed as far as possible in chronological order.

The records of donations to St. Cadoc during his lifetime.

In the first group are included donations made in the lifetime of St. Cadoc; and of these, two relate to the founding of monastic churches—one by a favourite disciple and the other by St. Cadoc himself.

[3] Notū sit oīnibʒ ꝑ mutabilitate tēpoꝛ ⁊ successibʒ huiꝰ mundi regū . q̄d Elli allūpnꝰ beati Cadoci . ab ipso diligenꝰ a pⁱmeua etate educatꝰ . ac sacⁱs apicibʒ apⁱmeꝰ institutꝰ illiqꝭ cunctoꝛ discīploꝛ suoꝛ carissimꝰ . Et asseruit Elli dicens . Ecce ego construxi eccl̄am ⁊ domos in nōe Đni . ⁊ ipse cunctiqꝭ successores mei . familie Cadoci erimꝰ obedientes subiecti . atqꝭ beniuoli . familie Cadoci. Dedit etiā Elli ꝺscⁱpte

Be it known to all, on account of the mutability of times and of the successions of the kings of this world, that Elli, the pupil of the blessed Cadoc, having been by him educated lovingly from tenderest age and well established in sacred learning and being the dearest to him of all his disciples, made declaration saying: 'Lo, I have built a church and houses in the name of the Lord, and I

[1] Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. c. ii.

[2] The Latin of these records has been copied from the Cotton MS., Vesp. A. xiv., B.M., and I have to thank Mr. W. K. Boyd for the care bestowed upon them.

[3] Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new.

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Foundation of a monastic church. Food-rents of 'three nights' summer and winter.

familie ppetua pensione singlis annis cibaria p tres noctes in estate ac totidē in hieme cū gr̃arū actione ⁊ leticia . oř̃onibꝫ ⁊ hymnis sp̄ualibꝫ uerū etiā in substituendo administ^a^tore ei^ꝰ^dē eccle : abbas cenobii Catocj p̄ses semp erit ⁊ auctor. Cetēr̃ si contigit q̄d Catoc^ꝰ atq; successores illi^ꝰ cū illoꝝ clientela minime ualint : dent^r illis duo boues ad recognitionē subiectionis ⁊ societatis. Vñ cōuenientes ad monast̄iū elli pactionē hāc cū pacis oscl̄o c̄firmauer̄t in conspectu elli iuxta crucē q̄ . ē . in uia multis nota.

Hui^ꝰ rei st̄ testes . Catoc . Elli. Cleophas. Samson . Jacob. Boduan . Conocan . Mach . Ierunt un^ꝰq^lsq; ad loc̄ suū de bñdictiōe in bñdictione Am̄.

myself and all my successors shall be obedient, subject, and well disposed to the family of Cadoc.' Moreover, Elli gave to the aforesaid family in perpetual yearly payment provisions for three nights in summer and as many in winter, with giving of thanks and joy, prayers and spiritual hymns. Moreover, in changing the administrator of the same church the abbot of the community of Cadoc shall have the chief power and authority for ever. But if it shall happen that Cadoc and his successors with their followers shall diminish, then shall be given unto them two oxen as recognition of subjection and alliance. Whereupon coming together to the monastery of Elli they confirmed this agreement with the kiss of peace in the sight of Elli hard by the cross which is on the road known to many.

Of this thing are witnesses Catoc, Elli, Cleophas, Samson, Jacob, Boduan, Conocan, Mach. They departed each to his own place blessing and blest. Amen.

Church built by Cadoc for a disciple.

Sciendū . ē . nob̄ q̄d Cadoc construx̄ eccl̄am Mach moilo discip̄lo ei^ꝰ eāq; munimine uallauit ac in eadē altare composuit . q^atin^ꝰ illo hospitaret^r q^andо iret ad Guent ac iñ rediret . dimisitq; Mac moilū in ea p^lorē atq; ad minist^ationis

Be it known to us that Cadoc built a church for Mach Moilus, his disciple, and walled it securely, and constructed an altar therein, to the end that therein he should be entertained when he should go to Gwent and return thence, and

toti^{9} ꝑcuratorē . Pollicit^{9} . ē . ꝯ Cadoc^{9} regni ꝑmia celoꝝ cunctis q^{i} ei^{9}dē eccle possessiones ag^{i}s seu pecuniis aut elemosinis auxerint : Testes s̄t . sup hoc . Cadoc ⁊ clici ei^{9} . Pachan . Detiu . Boduan . Quic̄q$_{b}$ custodierit ꝺn̄ . e . a Ðo . ⁊ q^{i}c̄q$_{b}$ frangit maledict^{9} erit a ꝺno Am̄.[1]

he ordained Mac Moilus as prior therein, and to be procurator of the whole of its administration. Moreover, Cadoc promised the rewards of the kingdom of heaven to all who should increase the possessions of the said church by land or moneys or alms.

The witnesses thereof are Cadoc and his clergy, Pachan, Detiu, Boduan.

Whosoever shall keep [this] shall be blessed by God; whosoever shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

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Donations very similar to these, of churches built or founded by the donors, occur in Continental cartularies.[2] In the donation by Elli, the companion of Cadoc, of his church—'Llanelli'—there is an interesting variation in the description of the annual 'pensio,' or 'census.' It is described, not as a food-rent of so many measures of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, as in most cases, but as *three nights' cibaria*, i.e. *gwestva*, payable in summer and winter respectively, the equivalent details of which are taken as well known, and not needing definition. This is an early illustration of the adaptation of the food-rent or *gwestva* to the nightly supply of the wants of the *familia* of the monastery to whom the donation was made. Instances will follow of the transfer of food-rents from a chieftain to a monastery without alteration. It will be noticed that, as in this case of the nights' entertainments, so also in other cases, the numbers are reckoned in *threes*.

The three nights' *gwestva*.

[1] Fol. 38d. old ref., 39d. new.

[2] *Cart. de St. Bertin*, pp. 28, 29 (A.D. 677).

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A chieftain murders two nephews, and, in redemption of the crime, he and another make donations of land with its food-rents of beer, bread, flesh, and honey.

The next record is of a different character :—

Post inṽuallū temporis occidit Euan Buurr̃ duos uiros filios sororis eiꝰ . Atgan scił ⁊ Aidnerth . Quā ob rē uenit Cadoc ⁊ Eltuth . ⁊ maledixeṙt Euan . Vñ coactꝰ uenit Euan ⁊ Reges cū eo ad p̃sentiā Codoci atq; Eltuti : confessusq; ē eis sceła sua . At illi dixeṙt ei . Redime culpā homicidij . Respondit Catlon dicens . Dabo agrū nõe Lan Hoitlon Cadoco . Pensio eiꝰ . ij . vasa sex modioꝝ ceruise cum pane ⁊ carne ⁊ melle . sc̃dm solitā debitā debiti mensurā . Merchiaun uº dedit villā uidelicet Conhil Eltuto . atq; . iii . uasa q̃ sex modios ꝰuise continebāt unū quodq; uas cū agis consecntes : p̃fatis sc̃is in ppetuā elemosinā c̃tuleṙt . At illi satisfactionē Euan suscipientes . xiiii . annos penitencie iniunxerūt ei.

Cuiꝰ facti testes fueṙt . Catlon . Merchiaun . Euan . Cethij . Sc̃s Catman . Hoitlon . Virgo Cadoc . Finian scottꝰ . Eutegr̀n lector . Familia q; Cadoci . atq; Cadoci . atq; Eltuti : testes s̄t . Quic̃q; custodierit : benedictꝰ erit a Đo . ⁊ qicunq; frangit maledictꝰ erit.[1]

After an interval of time Evan Buurr killed two men, sons of his sister, to wit Atgan and Aidnerth. Whereupon came Cadoc and Illtud and cursed Evan. Whereby constrained came Evan and the kings with him to the presence of Cadoc and Illtud, and confessed to them his crimes. And they said to him, 'Redeem the crime of homicide.' Catlon replied saying, 'I will give land called Lan Hoitlan to Cadoc ; the *pensio* thereof is two vessels each of six modii of beer, with bread and flesh and honey, according to the due and accustomed measure.' Moreover, Merchiaun gave a villa, *i.e.* Conhil, to Illtud, and three vessels which contain six modii of beer, consecrating each vessel with the land. They conferred them on the aforesaid saints in everlasting alms. Moreover, they receiving satisfaction from Evan enjoined upon him fourteen years of penitence. Of which fact the witnesses were Catlon, Merchiaun, Evan, Cethii, St. Catman, Hoitlon, Virgo Cadoc, Finian Scottus, Eutegyrn the reader. Also the family of Cadoc, and of Cadoc and Illtud, are witnesses. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed of God, and whoever shall break it shall be cursed.

[1] Fol. 38d. old ref., 39d. new.

This record is interesting in several ways. A chieftain has murdered two sons of his sister. St. Cadoc and St. Illtud are courageous enough to charge him with the crime. He brings two other chieftains with him (probably members of his family), and makes confession, whereupon the two abbots require him, according to Church law, to redeem the crime of homicide. There is no *galanas* within the kindred, but the Church must have her due. The two chieftains comply with the demand, and respectively make to the monasteries of the two abbots donations of properties, and these, according to custom, are described by the amount of the annual payments or food-rents due from them, viz. in one case two vessels, each of six *modii* of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, according to customary amount and measure; in the other case, three such vessels, each of six *modii* of beer, and bread, flesh, and honey, in addition.

The fourteen years' penance.

But this is not all. Having received these donations, the two abbots impose upon the murderer fourteen years' penance, *i.e.* seven years' penance for each of the two murders, according to the rules laid down in contemporary Penitentials.[1]

What could Gildas ask more from the abbots than this? The witnesses comprise amongst others the two chieftains who make the donations. One of them, Merchiaun, as we shall find from another record, was afterwards murdered by his relative, Guoidnerth. Gildas did not, it seems, overrate the crimes of chief-

[1] 'Hibernensis sinodus dicit: Omnes homicidæ si toto corde conversi fuerint, VII annorum penitentiam districte sub regula monasterii peniteant.' *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, Wasserschleben, p. 96. Lib. xxviii. c. 10.

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The Irish monk Finian as witness.

tains. Another witness was *Finian Scottus*. This can hardly be other than the Irish monk Finian,[1] already alluded to, who, according to Irish authorities, came over when thirty years old into Wales, to be the disciple, as already mentioned, of the Welsh saints David, Cadoc, and Gildas, and, after remaining thirty years in Britain, returned to Ireland to found the 'second order' of monasteries. He died, like so many others, of the Yellow Death, according to the annals of Ulster, in A.D. 548.[2] The appearance of Finian as a witness to this record puts back the date of the transaction, if authentic, some years, at least, before the Yellow Death.

VIII. THE DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC (*continued*).

Donations whilst Conigc was abbot of Llancarvon. Donation of land with reservation of occupation and payment of food-rent of beer, &c.

The next three donations are linked together by the fact that they were made in the time of Conigc, the abbot of St. Cadoc's monastery, and that some of the witnesses were common to them all.

Sciendū . ē . q̄d Theudor fili⁹ Mourici dedit gladiū vestim̄tūq; Catoco ⁊ familie ei⁹ q^a^tin⁹ ifi emerēt ꝓrā in sustentationē ei⁹dē . Conigc u° abbas altaris sc̄i Cadoci tribuit gladiū illū uestim̄tūq; Spois ⁊ Rodrico ꝑ uilla cui nom̄ Conguoret in Pencenli . q^i^ concesser̄t hanc Cadoco ⁊ eiusdē eccle possidendā iure ꝑpetuo . q̄ annua pensione psolū et ꝑmisso Conig̃

Be it known that Theudor son of Mouricus gave a sword and garment to Cadoc and his *familia* to the end that therewith they should buy land for the sustentation of the same. Moreover, Conigc abbot of the altar of St. Cadoc, assigned that sword and garment to Spois and Rodricus for the villa named Conguoret in Pencenli, who granted it to

[1] Rees misread the manuscript as 'Finian Seoctus,' and so failed to recognise the name of the Irish monk.

[2] Reeve's *Life of St. Columba*, lxxiii., n.; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 50.

ac ꝑlibate familie . ꝑ manū Spois ⁊ filioꝫ eiꝰ in eccl̄nū . nouē modios ceruise panē & carnē ac mel . Et ut ista possessio liba ⁊ q̄eta foret ab oīibꝫ seruitiis ⁊ exactionibꝫ ꝓrenoꝫ regū ſ isdē Spois filiꝰ Gurhitr smptitꝰ . ē . iii . uaccas Guornemet . uñ ꝑfatꝰ Rodri tenuit cartā siue gᵃphiū sup manū Conigc abbatis Nantcarbanan in confirmatiōem huiꝰ donationis. Postea uº conuenerṫ Rodri ⁊ Spois ac filii eiꝰ . Conigc etiā ⁊ clerici eiꝰ attulerṫ crucē sc̄i Cadoci ⁊ humū eiꝰ ⁊ circueundo ꝑdictū agrū congueret . illudq; uendicaueṙt ⁊ ꝑscᵗipti sc̄i humū in signū ꝓpᵗie possessionis sup illū corā idoneis testibꝫ conspseṙt.

De laicis, testes . Rodri . Guornemet . Guoguoret . Hoilbiu . Houhoer . Colbiu. De clericis . Samson . abbas altaris sc̄i Eltuti . Conigc abb altaris ic̄i Cadoci . Plossan . Ætern . Iouan . Minuocioi . Brenic . ⁊ familia sc̄i Cadoci . testis ē . Qui conseruauꝰit conseruet illū Ds . ⁊ qᵗ fregerit maledictꝰ erit a Dno am̄.[1]

Cadoc and his church in possession by perpetual right so that in annual *pensio* it should pay to the said Conigc and his *familia* aforesaid by the hand of Spois and his sons for ever nine *modii* of beer, also bread, flesh, and honey, and that this possession should be free and quit of all services and exactions of earthly kings the said Spois son of Gurhitr bestowed three cows on Guornemet. Whereupon the said Rodricus held the charter or writing upon the hand of Conigc the abbot of Nantcarvan in confirmation of this donation. Afterwards, moreover, came together Rodricus and Spois and his sons, also Conigc and his clergy brought the cross of St. Cadoc and his earth, and by going round the said land Congueret both sold it and scattered on it the earth of the saint aforesaid as a sign of proper possession before fit witnesses. Of laity, witnesses : Rodricus, Guornemet, Guoguoret, Hoilbiu, Houhoer, Colbiu. Of clergy : Samson abbot of the altar of Illtud, Conigc abbot of the Altar of St. Cadoc, Plossan, Ætern, Iouan, Minuocioi, Brenic, and the family of St. Cadoc is witness Who shall have kept this God keep him. Who shall have broken it shall be accursed by God. Amen.

[1] Fol. 38 old ref., 39 new.

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This record presents many points of interest.

Sword and vestment used as money.

Theudor, the son of Mouric, gives a sword and a vestment to the monastery of St. Cadoc to be used as money to purchase land for its maintenance.

Conigc, the abbot, buys with them a villa named Conguoret, in Pencenli, from Spois and Rodric. They, however, retain possession. The food-rent of nine *modii* of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, is to be paid by them and their sons for ever. And, that it might be freed from all secular services, Spois, the son of Gurhur, gives three cows to Guornemet. Rodri holds the charter or writing upon the hand of Conigc, the abbot, in confirmation of the gift, and then, lastly, Rodri and Spois with his sons, and the abbot with his clergy, carry the cross of St. Cadoc and earth from his altar or sepulchre round the newly purchased land in the presence of witnesses.[1] Cadoc is now evidently dead.

The next record is as follows :—

Donation of land by a father and three sons, reserving occupation under food-rent.

Sciendū ē q̄d Bronnoguid filiꝰ Febric dedit dimidiā partē agri Idraclis ꝑ aīa sua ⁊ ut nom̄ eiꝰ in libro Catoci aꝑ Nantcarban scⁱbetʳ . Đo ⁊ monasꝰtio sc̄i Cadoci . Et iꝑe qⁱdē Bronnoguid ⁊ tres filii eiꝰ Guedan . ⁊ Guobrir . ⁊ Meuc . tenuer̄t scⁱptū gᵃphii sup manū Conigc pⁱncipis altaris Cadoci in sempiꝰno donationis iure Đo ⁊ sc̄o Cadoco . Annꝰ ⁊ enī illiꝰ agⁱ census ꝑpetuus ē ; tres modii ceruise . ⁊ panes ⁊ carnes ⁊ mina mellis . Hec enī Bronnotguid ⁊ tres filii eiꝰ

Be it known that Bronnoguid, son of Febric, gave a half share of the land Idraclis for his soul, and that his name might be written in the book of Cadoc at Nantcarvan, to God and the monastery of St. Cadoc. And he, to wit Bronnoguid, and his three sons, Guedan and Guobrir and Meuc, held the writing of the document upon the hand of Conigc, chief of the altar of Cadoc, in everlasting right of donation to God and St. Cadoc. Moreover, the annual

[1] See *Book of Llan Dav*, pp. 71, 121, 161, 162, for other examples of this kind of ceremony.

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⁊ gñatio illoꝝ annuatī debent ꝑsoluere familie Cadoci usq; ad diē iudicii . Huiꝰ pactiōis testes s̄t . Bronnotguid dñs fundi ⁊ filii ipsiꝰ . Guoidan . Marcant . Iunemet . Conigc abb̄ . Elionoy . Brenic . Mannocoi . Beduan . Plosan . Qui hāc donationē seruaūit : custodiat illū Ðs . Et qⁱ fregit : maledictꝰ erit a Ðo . Am̄.[1]

permanent *census* of that land is three *modii* of beer, and bread, and flesh, and a *mina* of honey. For Bronnotguid and his three sons and their offspring ought to pay these annually to the family of Cadoc until the day of judgment. Of this agreement are witnesses, Bronnotguid, *dominus fundi*, and his sons Guoidan, Marcant, Iunemet, Conigc abbot, Elionoy, Brenic, Mannocoi, Beduan, Plosan. Who shall keep this donation God guard him, and who shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

In this case the donor and his three sons hold the writing, as in other instances, upon the hand of the abbot. They, however, retain the occupation of the land, and the father, who is the *dominus fundi*, and the three sons and their kindred, are henceforth to pay to the abbey the *census* of three *modii* of beer and bread and flesh, and a *mina* of honey yearly, till the day of judgment.

The next record is of the same kind. Possession is retained and the *census* payable to the abbot is exactly double that of the last case.

Donation of the same kind.

Sciendū . ē . q̄d dedit Conbelin agrū Lisdin borrion uocatꝰ ꝑ cōmercio regni celestis cū corpore suo Ðo ⁊ sc̄o Cadoco q̄d ei annuatī ꝑsolūet sex modios ℭuise . cū pane ⁊ carne ⁊ melle . Testis . ē . Conigc qⁱ sup manū suā scⁱpsit [? sumpsit] concuū . i . Cyrogᵃphum.[2]

Be it known that Conbelin gave land called Lisdin borrion for purchase of the kingdom of heaven with his own body to God and St. Cadoc so that he should pay to him (Cadoc) annually six *modii* of beer with bread and flesh and honey. The witness is Conigc, who, upon his own hand, [took (?)] . . . chirograph.

[1] Fol. 38 old ref., 39 new

[2] Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

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IX. DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC (*continued*).

The next record is that of a donation to God and St. Cadoc by a father, who commended a villa to his son so that the latter should serve the abbey and pay out of the surplus produce the food-rent of nine *modii* of beer with bread and flesh and honey to St. Cadoc.

Donation by a father, reserving occupation to his son, with food-rent to St. Cadoc.

Sciendū . ē . sane q̄d Gualluuir donauit Đo ⁊ Sc̄o Cadoco agrū Pencarnov . ꝑ aīa sua in sempiŧnū ꝟ usq; ad diē iudicii . Guallunir aū hanc uillā comm̄dauit Iudnou filio suo . q^{a}tin^{9} ipse ⁊ heredes ipsi^{9} seruirēt familie Cadoci ex sūptib; hui^{9} ag^{i} ꝑ ipsos. Cens^{9} hui^{9} ag^{i} . ē . nouē modii ceruise . panes ⁊ carnes c̄ melle . Quinimmo ꝟ q^{o}c̄q; clerici Cadoci uoluerint manducare ŧ biđe ꝟ uidelicet in Basseleg . seu in Pencarnov ꝟ ꝑfat^{9} Iudnou cibaria ⁊ potiōem q̄ ꝑlibauim^{9} afferet ad illos.

Hui^{9} pactionis testes s̄t Paulus abbas Nantcarban . Guenlioui fr̄ ei^{9} . Thinuc . Canapoi . Tanet . Hierbrith . Merhitr . Concū . Quic̄q; custodierit . custodi; illū Đs . ⁊ q^{i} freꝺit maleđ . e. a Đno . am̄.[1]

Be it well known that Gualluuir gave to God and St. Cadoc the land Pencarnov for his soul for ever till the day of judgment, Guallunir, moreover, 'commendavit' this villa to Iudnou, his son, to the end that he himself and his heirs should serve the family of Cadoc out of the produce of this land beyond their own needs.[1] The *census* of this land is nine *modii* of beer, bread and flesh and honey. But nevertheless, that whenever the clergy of Cadoc wish to eat or drink, namely, in Basseleg or in Pencarnov, the said Iudnou shall supply them with food and drink as aforesaid. Of this agreement are witnesses: Paulus, Abbot of Nantcarban, Gwenlioui his brother, Thinuc, Canapoi, Tanet, Hierbrith, Merhitr, Concum. Whoever shall keep this, God keep him; and who shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

[1] Fol. 38d old ref., 39d new.

The following is a simple one:—

Sciendū ẽ . q̃d Temit dedit agrū . id est de Ag° Crucin . altari sc̃i Cadoci in ppetuā possessionē cū filiis suis . in tempore Pauli abb̄is de Nantcaruan . q̃d annuati .vj. modios ceruise c̃ panib3 ⁊ carnib3 familie sc̃i Cadoci . iugiṽ psoluet.

Testes st̄ . De cl̄icis . Guouan . Matganoj . Son . Brenic . Elionoe . Pill lector . De laicis u° ⁊ Cungrat . Guedhoc . Eliunui . Rimogeat . Branoc . Cunhape . Quic̄q; seruauit hāc obl̄onē ⁊ conseruet illū Ds . ⁊ q¹ abstulit : confringet illū Ds.[2]

Be it known that Temit gave land, *i.e.* of Ager Crucin, to the altar of St. Cadoc in perpetual possession, with his (Temit's) sons, in the time of Paul, Abbot of Nantcarvan, so that he should pay annually six *modii* of beer, with bread and flesh, to the family of St. Cadoc for ever.[1]

Witnesses are, of the clergy: Guouan, Matganoi, Son, Brenic, Elionoe, Pill the reader. Of the laity, Cungrat, Guedhoc, Eliunui, Rimogeat, Branoc, Cunhape. Whoever shall keep this, God keep him; and who withdraws it, God will break him in pieces.

Similar donation by a father and his sons.

Here again the donor and his sons retain possession on payment of the *census* of six *modii* of beer with bread and flesh.

The rest of these remarkable records are proved by numerous coincidences in the witnesses to be contemporary with those in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' which belong to the time of the Bishop Oudoceus. This bishop succeeded St. Teilo, it is supposed, about A.D. 574, and, according to the 'Book of Llan Dav,' he received donations from three chieftains in succes-

[1] Compare this with the following passage in Gregory of Tours, *De Virtutibus S. Martini*, lib. iv., s. 11: 'Tradidit ei omnem possessionem suam dicens: "Sint hæc omnia penes Sancti Martini ditionem quæ habere videor et hoc tantum exinde utar, ut de his dum vixero, alar.'

[2] Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new.

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sion—viz. Meurig, who is said to have died A.D. 575;[1] his son Athrwys, and his grandson Morcant.

The first three donations now to be considered were made whilst Jacob was Abbot of St. Cadoc, and the next two during the abbacy of Sulien. The first two were made during the lifetime of Meurig, and the rest in the time of his grandson Morcant. In the meantime, it was under Meurig's son, Athrwys, that the dispute arose between St. Oudoceus and Biuon, Abbot of St. Illtud, which gave rise to the charter in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' whereby the cells of the disciples of St. Dubricius—Cyngualan, Arthruodu, and Congur—which had been lost in the Yellow Death, were confirmed to the see of Llandaff. The correspondence between the witnesses to this confirmatory charter and those of the following records of donations to the monastery of St. Cadoc, so far as it goes, is confirmatory evidence of the substantial genuineness of both. And the date of the donations is fixed within the limits of the episcopacy of Oudoceus, roughly embracing the closing decades of the sixth century.

Purchase from a chieftain and his family of land, thereupon given to St. Cadoc.

Notū sit oīmibꝫ q̄d Guorcinnun emit uillā Reathr a Mourico in ꝑlā hereditatē ꝑ gladio cuiꝰ capulū extitit deauratū ꝑciū . xxv . uaccarū apꝑciatū . Imptitꝰ . ē . ꝗ Concennio Pauli filio equū in ꝑcio . iiijor . uaccaꝝ . Preciaꝝ etiā triū unciaꝝ uestiīmti .

Be it known to all that Guorcinnun bought the villa Reathr from Mouricus for his own inheritance for a sword whose hilt was gilded and valued at the price of twenty-five cows. He bestowed also on Concennius, son of Paulus, a horse of the value of four cows, also of

[1] Rees' *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, supplementary notes, p. 6.

Cōmoro aũ q̃ndā equũ optimũ Concenni filio . Sȝ ⁊ Andreso Morcanti filio gladiũ ī ꝑcio . iiij^{or} . uaccaꝝ . Itē idē largit^{ꝰ} . ē . ꝑciũ . iiij^{or} uaccaꝝ . Iudnertho Mourici filio unāq; bouē Cornouano nut^{i}tori suo ⁊ aliā uaccā ꝓcuratori regis Guengartho . P^{o} hāc g^{o} emptionē tenueŕt Mouric ⁊ Concen g^{a}phiā carte sup manũ Guorcinn n sēpiṫnā hereditatē sibi ⁊ ei^{ꝰ} ꝓgeniei . Iꝑe u^{o} Guorcinn dedit hac uillā ecclesie sc̃i Cadoci in ꝓpetuā possessionē . usq; in diē iudicii . tenuitq; cyrog^{a}phū donationis sup manū Iacobi ab^{ꝭ}bis Carbani uallis ꝓ cōmemoŕone hui^{ꝰ} elemosine corā idoneis testibꝫ . q^{o}ꝫ nõa subsc^{i}bunt^{r} . Eudoce eꝑs . ⁊ Cethig ꝓposit^{ꝰ} altaris sc̃i Docgwini . Iacobꝫ ꝓposit^{ꝰ} siue ab^{ꝭ}bs altaris sc̃i Cadoci . ⁊ familia ei^{ꝰ} secū . De familia Eltuti ꝟ Testes s̄t Conmoe ꝑsb̄r . Conuul Magis^{ṫ} . ⁊ Ioseph ꝑsb̄r . Biuone . Catgen . De laicis u^{o} ꝟ Mouric^{ꝰ} ⁊ filii ei^{ꝰ} . Andrus . Guedgen . Bramail . Concit fili^{ꝰ} Ermit . Guorbes fili^{ꝰ} Berran . Geintoc . Assail . Arcon . Guallimir . Iudhol . Matton . Eliud^{ꝰ} . Hilon . Om̃s testes sup hanc donationis consc^{i}ptionē . Predicta nāq; uilla Reathr . cōpetebat Mesioco hereditario iure . cui Guorcinnī . equũ ꝑstitit ut huic concessioni adq^{i}esc̃et habentē ꝑciũ triũ uaccarũ . Qui

garments of the worth of three ounces [of silver ?]. Moreover, to Commor, the son of Concennius, a certain 'best horse'; also to Andresus, son of Morcant, a sword of the value of four cows. Item, the same [donor] granted the price of four cows to Iudnerth, son of Mouricus, together with an ox to Cornovanus, his foster-father, and another cow to Guengarth, the procurator of the king. Therefore, on account of this purchase, Mouric and Concen held the writing of the charter upon the hand of Guorcinn for everlasting inheritance for himself and his offspring. Moreover, Guorcinn himself gave this villa to the church of St. Cadoc in everlasting possession till the day of judgment, and he held the chirograph of donation upon the hand of Jacob, the abbot of Carban valley, in commemoration of this alms, before fit witnesses whose names are subscribed. Eudoce, bishop, and Cethig, prepositus of the altar of St. Docgwin, Jacob, prepositus or abbot of the altar of St. Cadoc, and his family with him. Of the family of Illtud are witnesses: Conmoe priest, Conuul magister, and Joseph priest, Biuone, Catgen. Of the laity Mouric and his sons Andrus, Gwedgen, Bramail, Concit son of Ermit, Gurbes son of Berran, Geintoc, Assail, Ar-

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hoc temerauit : maledict⁹ erit a Deo.[1]

con, Gwallimir, Iudhol, Matton, Eliudus, Hilon, all witnesses of this conscription of donation. For the aforesaid villa of Reathr belonged to Messiocus by right of inheritance, to whom Guorcinin gave a horse worth three cows that he should assent to this grant. Who shall violate this shall be accursed by God.

Gold-hilted sword, &c., used as money.

This record represents Guorcinnim as buying a certain villa from Meuric the king with a gold-hilted sword worth twenty-five cows. A horse worth four cows is also paid to Concenn. Vestments worth three ounces [of silver] are paid to Conmoe, and a 'best horse' to the son of Concenn. A sword worth four cows is given to the son of Morcant, and another worth four cows to the son of Meuric, and an ox is given to his foster-father. Lastly, a cow is paid to Guengarth, procurator of the King Meuric. This done, and the consent of all these having been thus obtained, Meuric and Concenn hold the written charter, according to the prevalent form of delivery, on the hand of Guorcinnim, the purchaser, in token of eternal inheritance to him and his descendants. Then the purchaser gives the villa so bought to the church of St. Cadoc, and holds the chirograph of the donation upon the hand of Jacob the abbot in the presence of Bishop Oudoceus and others. But even now all has not yet been done. Another person claims hereditary rights in the land, and Guor-

[1] Fol. 39d old ref., 40d new.

cinnim has to give him a horse worth three cows to get quit of his claim. Surely we have in this, as in some other cases, an example of a sale of land belonging to a chieftain's *gwely*.

Ostendendū . ē . futuris ꝑ temporū mutacionibꝫ et regū successibꝫ . q̄d Mouric^{o} Rex dedit partē agri ꝑ aīa sua q^{i} uocat^{r} Insule Tuican . ac due partes ag^{i} q̄ ꝑp^{i}e fuer̄t Gorbrith ⁊ Gassoc . necū ⁊ sororis sue pariꝰ Sule . supꝑ q̄ ēbꝫ Mouric^{o} rex g^{a}phiā consc^{i}ptionis tenuit supꝑ manū Iacob abb̄is Cathedre sc̄i Cadoci . ut ipe lib̄as ⁊ q^{i}etas faꝰet ab om̄i censu ⁊ ab om̄i calūpnia . ⁊ ab om̄ibꝫ ⁊ seruitiis excepto famulitio sc̄i Cadoci . Qua pꝓꝰ p^{o} hec dedit Iacob equū Mourico regi . at ille largit^{o} . ē . illū Guodgen filio Brocmaili . Hui^{o} rei testes s̄t . Iacob abb̄s . Rumceneu . Catthig . ⁊ pres eoꝫ Cōmogoe . Conmil . Guorgeneu . Beuonoe . Catgen . Hearngen . Crasgell . Outegurn . Guitlon . Sulien . Clerici. De laicis Mouric^{o} supꝑ ipsū solū . ⁊ supꝑ filios suos . a gn̄ratiōe in gn̄rationē . Gueldgen fili^{o} Brocmail . Guallunir . Guorcinnim . Guorbes . Morcenev . Morhoen . Hii s̄t testes supꝑ hoc pactū : ut . fi . soluat^{r} in eꝰnū . Deiñ Mouric^{o} rex confirmauit hāc donationē supꝑ altare sc̄i Cadoci corā senioribꝫ suis . Quic̄q, conseruaꝰit b̄ndict^{o}

Be it declared to posterity, because of the changes of times and the successions of kings, that King Mouric gave for his soul a part of the land called Insula Tuican and two parts of the land which belonged to Gorbrith and Gassoc as well as their sister Sula, equally, with respect to which King Mouric held the written document upon the hand of Jacob abbot of the chair of St. Cadoc, so that he himself might make them free and quit from all *census*, and all claims, and all services except the service of the family of St. Cadoc. Wherefore in this behalf Jacob gave a horse to King Mouric and he bestowed it upon Guodgen son of Brocmail. Of this thing are witnesses : Jacob abbot, Rumceneu, Catthig, and their fathers Conmogoe, Conmil, Guorgeneu, Beuonoe, Catgen, Hearngen, Crasgell, Outegurn, Guitlon, Sulien, clergy. Of the laity : Mouric on behalf of himself alone and his sons, from generation to generation. Gueldgen son of Brocmail, Guallunir, Guorcinnim, Guorbes, Morcenev, Morhoen. These

Donation by a chieftain confirmed on the altar before his elders.

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erit . ⁊ qⁱ dissoluit maledictᵒ erit a Deo.[1]

are witness over this agreement that it be not loosed for ever. Then King Mouric confirmed this donation upon the altar of St. Cadoc before his own elders. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever dissolves it shall be cursed by God.

This record is very similar to the last, except that the donation, after the usual formalities of delivery, is confirmed upon the altar of St. Cadoc by Meuric the king in the presence of his elders. Nor is it needful to dwell upon the next.

Donation of land with usual food-rent.

Sciendū ẽ q̄d Terengual dedit agrū Lecguoidel Đo ⁊ Cadoco qⁱ annuatī ꝑsoluet Cadoco ⁊ familie eiᵒ tres modios ceruise ⁊ panes ⁊ carnes ⁊ si forte ceruisa caruerit ꝟ reddet . iiiiᵒʳ . modios tⁱtici ūl clamidē albū . Hāc elemosinā dedit Terengual Đo ⁊ sc̄o Cadoco liƀam ⁊ qⁱetā ab om̄i regali ⁊ ꝛreno seruitio . ꝑ aïa sua ⁊ ꝑ aïa Morcāt.

Inde testes s̄t Iacob ꝓpositᵒ altaris Cadoci ⁊ familia eiᵒ . Conmogoi . Conuul . Ioseph . Biuuonoi . Catgen . De famili Eltuti . testes . Marcant . Gualunir . Guedgen . Guengarth.

Finis hᵒ agⁱ . ẽ . a Pull tenbuib ꝟ usq; Dirprisc . Quic̄q; seruaꝺit bn̄dictᵒ sit . ⁊ qⁱ uiolaꝺit maledictᵒ erit a Đo.[2]

Be it known that Terengual gave the land Lecguoidel to God and Cadoc, which annually shall pay to Cadoc and his *familia* three *modii* of beer, and bread and flesh, and if by chance beer shall be lacking, it shall give four *modii* of wheat or a white cloak. This alms gave Terengual to God and St. Cadoc free and quit from all regal and earthly service for his soul and the soul of Morcant. Witness thereof are Jacob prepositus of the altar of Cadoc and his *familia*, Conmogoi, Connual, Joseph, Biuuoni, Catgen. Of the *familia* of Illtud are witnesses : Marcant, Guallunir, Guedgen, Guengarth. The boundary of this land is from Pulltenbuib as far as Dirprisc. Whoso shall keep this be blessed, and whoso shall violate it shall be cursed by God.

[1] Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

[2] Fol. 39d old ref., 40d new.

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The following record refers to the fratricide already mentioned of *Merchiun*, and the donation to St. Cadoc of Lann Catgualader, with its *census* of three *modii* of beer, by way of redemption of the crime.

A very similar record of donation is contained in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' but making Berthguin, Bishop of Llandaff, the recipient of the gift.

Notificandū . ẽ . postis q̃d dedit Guoidnerth Lann Catgualader Đo ⁊ sc̃o Cadoco q^a^tin^9 q^o^t annis uas . iii . modiorū cuise illi psolueret^r cū om̃ibꝫ debitis ꝑ fricidiū germani sui Merchiun . atq; tandem reddit^9 dedit Docgwinno . Sup hoc testes fuer̃t Berthgwin^9 epc̃ . Conmil . Terchan ⁊ Congregatio ei^9 . Sulien ab̃s . Nant carban . Lumbiu p̃br . Biuoni . Iouab . ⁊ Congregatio sc̃i Cadoci . Saturn p^i^nces altaris Docgwinni . Marcant . Guoidnerth . Quic̃q; seruauit ꝟ benedict^9 erit . Et q^i temerauit ꝟ maledict^9 erit a Deo.[1]

Be it made known to posterity that Guoidnerth gave Lann Catgualader to God and St. Cadoc to the end that each year should be paid to him (Cadoc) a vessel of three *modii* of beer with all dues, on account of the fratricide of his own brother Merchiun, and after that he gave the rents to Dogwin. Concerning this the witnesses were Berthgwin bishop, Conmil, Terchan and his congregation, Sulien abbot of Nantcarban, Lumbiu priest, Biuoni, Saturn chief of the altar of Dogwin, Marcant, Guoidnerth. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever shall violate it shall be cursed by God.

Donation in redemption of fratricide.

The following record is perhaps the most graphic and interesting of all :—

Sciendū . ẽ . q̃d Morcant Rex uenando uenit usq; ad ripā fluminis Nadhauon ⁊ iecit accipitrē sup anatē . ⁊ ambo simul accipi ⁊ anas flum̃ uolatu t^a^nsmeauer̃t . Et subito ueniebat aq^i^la de ripa maris ut rapet

Be it known that Morcant, king, came a-hunting to the bank of the river Nadhauon, and threw his hawk upon a duck, and both at once hawk and duck crossed the river in their flight. And suddenly

Donation by a chief and his *procurator* of a *villa* and its *census*.

[1] Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

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accipitrē . Qđ ut uidit Marcant rex ⁊ ualde c̃tˢstatᵒ . ē . Ast concite alūpnᵒ regis ueniens nõe Guengarth . eques c̃ scuto ⁊ gladio ac lancea se in fluḿ ꝑripuit . ⁊ accipitrē a raptu aqˡle ñ modico uiriir eripuit ⁊ ueř etiā leporiꝰ accipitrē cū anate ad manū Morcant Regis attulit . illūqꝫ tali facinore ñ minimū letificauit . Quo cˡca diẍ Morcant Guengartho . Ecce tˡbuo tˡ uillā Cadroc in ius hereditariū habentē longitudinē ab urbe Trotguid ⁊ usqꝫ ad fluḿ Nadauan . ⁊ latitudinē a fonte Guengarth ⁊ usqꝫ ad aliū fontē Guengarth . Eodē die Morcāt ⁊ Guengarth prexeřt ad qᵒddā ꝰritoriū Cadocj . ⁊ tˡbuit Guengarth Đo ⁊ sc̃o Cadoco censū ꝰscˡpte uille Cadroc ꝑ aĩa sua ⁊ ꝑ aĩa Morcanti regis . sciſ sinḡlis annis . xii . modios ꝰuise ⁊ sextariū mellis . debitū q̃ panē ⁊ carnē . Insuꝑ etiā idē Guengarth dedit Conmogoẏ Hipiclaur gladiū suū deauratū ꝑ aĩa sua q̃d habuit ꝰciū . lxxᵗᵃ . uaccař . Quare consuluit Cōmogoẏ Guengardo qᵒ gladiū illū Morcanto ꝰstaret . ut ille donationē Guengardi c̃firmaret supꝑ pago Catroc ⁊ q̃d ⁊ feč . Qua de re Morcant ꝰlibatā donationē ratā habuit atqꝫ scˡpto corroborauit supꝑ manū Sulien illa illinc fore liƀā ⁊ qˡetā ab oḿi ꝰreno seruitio . uerū fundit ᵒ obseqˡo Đi ⁊ sc̃i Cadoci obnoxia.

Huiᵒ rei testes s̄t . Morcāt . supꝑ se ipsū . ut nullus huiᵒ

there came an eagle from the sea shore to seize the hawk. Which when King Morcant saw he was exceeding sorrowful, but in a moment a foster son of the king, named Guengarth, coming up on horseback with shield and sword and lance, hurled himself into the river, and with no little bravery snatched the hawk from the grip of the eagle. And, moreover, lightly brought the hawk with the duck to the hand of Morcant the king, and by such achievement delighted him not a little. Whereupon Morcant said to Guengarth: 'Behold, I grant to thee the villa Cadroc as an inheritance stretching from the city Trotguid as far as the river Nadavan, and in breadth from the spring Guengarth as far as another spring Guengarth.' On the same day Morcant and Guengarth reached a certain territory of Cadoc, and Guengarth consigned to God and St. Cadoc the *census* of the aforesaid villa Cadroc for his soul and the soul of Morcant the king, to wit every year twelve *modii* of beer and a sextar of honey, and the bread and flesh due therewith. Over and above this the same Guengarth gave to Conmogoy for his soul his gilded sword 'Hipiclaur,' which was of the value of seventy cows. Wherefore, Conmogoy concurred with Guengarth when he bestowed

ꝟritorii ꝑcurator extat nⁱ Guengarth ꝛ heredes illiᵒ. De Cꝉicis. Sulien . Cōmogoi . Danoc . Guorguethen . Legan . Elgnou . De laicis uᵒ Guingueri . Iacob . Boduan . Elguan . Gurhitr . Cuncuan . Quicq, cᵒtodierit ꝺnꝺ erit . ꝛ qⁱ ifregit maleꝺ a Ꝺo ꝛ a Cadoco . Aᷤm.[1]

that sword on Morcant, that he should confirm the donation of Guengarth with regard to the 'pagus' Catroc, which also he did. Concerning which thing Morcant aforesaid ratified the donation, and corroborated it by a writing upon the hand of Sulien, thenceforth to be free and quit from all earthly service, but completely subject to the service of God and St. Cadoc. Of this thing are the witnesses Morcant on behalf of himself that no one should be procurator of this territory except Guengarth and his heirs. Of the clergy: Sulien, Conmogoi, Danoc, Guorguethen, Legan, Elgnou. Of the laity: Guingueri, Jacob, Boduan, Elguan, Gurhitr, Cuncuan. Whoever shall guard this shall be blessed, and whoever shall break it shall be cursed by God and St. Cadoc.

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Morcant, the grandson of Meuric, is hawking with Guengarth, his *procurator*, and, as a reward for saving his hawk, the impulsive king gives him on the spot a villa, apparently, according to the boundaries, adjoining that occupied by Guengarth. Then the two together, on the same day, go to a certain territory of St. Cadoc, and there Guengarth gives to St. Cadoc the *census* of the villa so lately given to him by Morcant for the souls of himself and King Morcant—namely, twelve *modii* of beer and a sextar of honey, and the usual bread and flesh. Thereupon Guengarth gives to Conmogoy, a cleric, his gilded

[1] Fol. 89 old ref., 40 new.

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A gilded sword named 'Hipiclaur,' worth seventy cows, and used as money.

sword named 'Hipiclaur,' worth seventy cows, for his soul. And the reason why Guengarth has to give him the sword turns out to be that the confirmation of Conmogoy is needful to the donation. Lastly, the king Morcant confirms it by a writing placed on the hand of Sulien, the abbot of St. Cadoc, and witnesses that no one shall be *procurator* of that territory except Guengarth and his heirs.[1]

We have now arrived at the last of these records.

Donation of land at Caerleon.

Significandū . ē q̄d Retone dimidiā partē ag^{l} iuxta Ciuitatē Legionis Đo atq$_{3}$ Sc̄o Cadoco ꝑpetuo iure possidendā q̄ illū ħeditario iure contīgebat . t̄n qz t̄c ad Herbic deuoluta fuerat eandē ab illo emit . ꝛ Đo ꝛ sc̄o Cadoco t^{l}buit.

Cui^{9} rei ⁊ s̄t testes . Herbic . Curnet . Congale cleri̇ . De laicis . Guornet . Guedguon . Guedgui . Son^{9} . Atderreg . Qui c^{9}todierit . sit bn̄dict^{9} . q^{i} uiolauit sit maledict^{9} . Am̄.[2]

Be it signified that Retone [gave] the half share of land near Caerleon to God and to St. Cadoc in perpetual right of possession which concerned him by right of inheritance, and after had devolved upon Herbic, bought the same from him and gave it to God and St. Cadoc. Of which thing are witnesses: Herbic, Curnet, Congale, of the clergy. Of the laity: Guornet, Guedguon, Guedgui, Sonus, Atderreg. Who shall keep this shall be blessed, who shall violate it shall be cursed. Amen.

X. AUTHENTICITY OF THE EARLY EVIDENCE.

These early records in keeping with tribal rules as to the family character of ownership.

The reader will now be able to judge for himself how far in these remarkable records we seem more or less to breathe the air of the sixth century, into which the lamentations of Gildas introduced us.

On the one hand, comparing the character of the transactions recorded with what has been already

[1] See supra, p. 154, n.

[2] Fol. 38d old ref., 39d new.

learned from the Codes and surveys of the tribal system, surely the habits and actions of the donors of the donations are in close keeping with the customary rules of tribal chieftainship.

In the family character of their ownership and the necessity for the concurrence of relations, both as regards the redemption of their crimes and the validity of their grants, there is strong incidental evidence both of the mutual responsibility for crime and of the land ownership in *gwelys* under the rules of *tir gweliawc*.

The cow the unit of value.

At the same time, the use of gold-hilted swords, and vestments, and 'best horses,' instead of money—nearly all of them equated with cows—belongs to that earlier stage of tribal life to which the Codes look back as the period when 'all payments were made in cattle,' a period of which the reckoning of the gradations in the *galanas* in cows was a survival.

Moral atmosphere under early tribal system.

The moral atmosphere of these transactions clearly belongs to a lower and an earlier stratum of tribal life than that of the Codes. The impulsive passions of the chieftains, leading to so many murders of members of their own family, naturally belong to the uncurbed, childish stage of human life, which is prone to superstition, and succumbs so easily to spiritual terrors. It is in this early stage that pride and passion so soon are succeeded by temporary remorse and submission. At no other time than in the first moment of contact with the Church would the chieftains of conquering tribes be likely to succumb so submissively to the purely moral and spiritual power of the saints and the monks.

Nor at any other period than this of first contact

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Mutual influence of the Church and tribal system.

would conquering chieftains follow tribal instincts so impulsively as not only to endow with donations the conquering spiritual power, but also themselves to rush into its communion, claiming chieftainship in it by themselves becoming monks and saints, so giving rise to saintly families of royal or chieftain blood, as in the case of St. Cadoc himself, St. Dubricius, and others.

The tribal system to a certain extent absorbed into itself the spiritual power to which the successors of Cunedda had to yield. And how naturally and inevitably this process of mutual absorption of one another by the tribal and spiritual powers produced or promoted in South Wales precisely those scandals, both in churchmen and chieftains, to which the lamentations of Gildas so loudly bore contemporary witness!

Formalities and forms of delivery.

Finally recurring to the technical side of these donations, and comparing the picturesque formalities used in making them with contemporary Continental forms, there is close resemblance without servile imitation. Perhaps nowhere else do we find exactly the formality of placing the writing upon the hand (*super manum*) of the recipient in the presence of witnesses There is an out-of-doors air about this form which seems to show that the transactions did not always take place in a church. Where the transaction took place in a church, the writings, as on the Continent, were laid upon the altar, or upon the copy of the Gospels which lay upon the altar. These Gospels naturally became, as in the case of the copy which Gelhi purchased from the [cell of] Cingual, and placed on the altar of St. Teilo, the

recipients of memoranda of similar donations, but there is no mention in the Cadoc records of this practice having yet commenced.

All this is in keeping with the methods described in the Alamannic and Bavarian laws of the early seventh century.

The reservation of occupancy with food-rents.

There is the same correspondence in the process by which an absolute donation is made to the Church to last for all eternity, or 'till the day of judgment,' whilst at the same time continued usufruct of the property is permitted to the donor or his family on payment of the customary food-rent. Where else can be found among British records anything like the habitual use of what quotations from the Alamannic and Bavarian laws and from the Rules of St. Benedict prove to have been common forms in use on the Continent in the sixth and seventh centuries?

The origin of these forms of donation in the development of Roman law has been clearly described at length by the late M. Fustel de Coulanges.[1] There was first the simple donation with a reservation of the usufruct. The Roman law allowed even the devise by the testator of the property to one person without the usufruct, which went in that case to his heir.

But there was also the other method by which, having made a donation, the donor received back the usufruct as a benefice or as a *precaria*. M. de Coulanges pointed out that originally the transaction in such cases was a triple one. First came the absolute *donatio*. Secondly came the *petitio* for continued

[1] *Les Origines du Système Féodal*, c. iv. and c. v.

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user. Thirdly, the transaction was completed by the *præstatio* on the part of the new owner, by which the donor received permission to continue the occupation as a *precaria*. But ultimately the processes were more or less united in one transaction, and recorded in a single document.

Consistent with continental methods.

Thus both methods resulted practically in very much the same thing. The St. Gall charters sometimes take one form and sometimes the other. They both were connected with the practice of *commendation* which had grown into importance under the peculiar circumstances described by Salvian—the Gildas of Gaul—and both were probably equally familiar to the ecclesiastics of Brittany and South Wales.

To which of the two classes the Cadoc donations belong it is not perhaps easy to determine.

In the meantime it is enough for this inquiry, if, without claiming that the records were often contemporary with the donations, the facts they record may be taken as substantially authentic. We are not dealing with them here as title-deeds to properties, but as evidence of tribal habits and customs at the time of the first contact between the chieftains and the Church. And surely, all things taken together, it can hardly be considered likely, or even possible, that any monastic scribe of a later century could so far anticipate modern historical methods as to acquire the knowledge and the skill whereby he could put himself so completely into the atmosphere of the sixth century as to be able to forge records such as these of St. Cadoc and Llan Dav without at least a basis of contemporary authority.

The records not likely to be forged.

XI. VALUE OF THE EARLY EVIDENCE.

Value of the early evidence.

If, in conclusion, we may fairly regard these records, whether themselves strictly contemporary or not, as, in the main, describing with substantial correctness sixth-century transactions between tribal chieftains and the abbots of monastic churches, they have a value for the purpose of this inquiry which will justify the amount of attention bestowed upon them.

Without entering into questions reserved for another volume, there are two points to which special reference may be made.

The food-rents of the Cadoc records.

First as to the food-rents. Passing by, for the present, the remarkable resemblance between the food-rents of the Cadoc records and those of the servile and other holdings described in the Alamannic and Bavarian laws, it will be seen, upon closer examination, that the food-rents of the Cadoc records are arranged upon a system which, in principle, corresponds remarkably with that of the Welsh Codes.

The provision for three nights.

The one case in which the food-rent was described as the *cibaria* for three nights in summer and three nights in winter illustrates the mention in the Dimetian Code of the obligation connected with the payment of the *gwestva* to light the chieftain's fire for three nights.

The connection of the food-rents with the land.

But apart from this direct allusion to the 'nights' entertainment' there is a system incidentally running through the records which shows that, as in the Codes, the holdings were arranged in multiples of a certain unit of possession or area from which the unit of food-rent was due.

The donations are of larger or smaller areas of

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The food-rents graduated in multiples of three *modii* of beer.

land, varying from the *lann* and half-*ager*, up to the *villa* or *pagus*, and the food-rents rise accordingly. There are two cases each of a half-*ager* and one of a *lann*, and these each pay three *modii* of beer. There are two cases of the full *ager* with a food-rent of six *modii* of beer. There are two cases of *villæ* paying nine *modii* of beer, three cases of *villæ* (one of them also called a *pagus*) and another of an *ager*, paying twelve *modii* of beer, and lastly one *villa* paying eighteen *modii* of beer. The food-rents embraced bread, flesh, and honey in addition; but it is obvious that the size of the donation was measured by its food-rent in multiples of the unit of three *modii* of beer.

There are no data affording ground even for a guess as to which of the multiples of the unit of three *modii* corresponded with the 'three nights' entertainment,' and even if there were such data it would be too much to expect exact correspondence between the food-rents of the Cadoc donations and those of the Codes. It is enough if the correspondence in principle between the food-rents of the Codes, of the entries in the margin of the 'Book of St. Chad,' and of the Cadoc records is close enough to warrant the inference that the system of food-rents with local or temporal differences was substantially the same throughout, and that it formed an essential element in the arrangements of tribal society in Wales from the time of the Cymric invasion or a still earlier period to the final conquest of North Wales.

Correspondence in principle with St. Chad food-rents and those of the Codes.

The other point referred to as relevant to this part of the inquiry relates to the tenacity with which the tribal instinct of patriarchal and family,

rather than individual, possession was maintained throughout.

The tribal rule of family ownership applied in the Cadoc records to the property of the chieftains, afterwards applied to ecclesiastical benefices in Wales.

Perhaps it would be difficult to find a stronger proof of this than the fact that it was applied to what, at first sight, would not seem to lend itself readily to such application. The Cadoc records, as already pointed out, are full of incidental evidence that even a chieftain could not make a donation without the concurrence of other members of his family. Even the chieftainship seems from the first to have been a family privilege and, in a way, shared by brothers or sons as though it were a family possession.

Allusion has already been made to the harmony in this particular between the Codes and the Cadoc records as *pro tanto* evidence in support of the authenticity of the latter. But, conversely, the authenticity of the Cadoc records being granted, their evidence that this trait of the tribal system was in force from the first Cymric conquest of Wales becomes important.

When it is considered that in no fewer than seven of these records the donations are family donations, in the sense that the consent of others of the family of the chieftain making the donation was necessary to its validity, the evidence is very strong in confirmation of that of the Codes as to the family character of the chieftainship.

Again, the stipulation in the last record but one, that, after the donation to the monastery of St. Cadoc by the King Morcant and his foster-son and *procurator* Guengarth of a *villa* or *pagus*, 'no one should be *procurator* of this territory except Guengarth and his heirs,' is incidental evidence how early even

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tribal offices under the chieftain tended to become hereditary in a family.

This is in complete harmony with the fact revealed by later evidence that even when a chieftain founded a church the same instinct resulted in the benefice being held as a family possession.

The evidence of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Giraldus Cambrensis was not slandering the Church, but giving unwilling testimony to the tenacity of a tribal instinct, when he complained that nearly all the Welsh churches had as many parsons and coparceners as there had been families of chief men (*uchelwrs*) in the parish.[1] He also complained that sons obtained the benefices by succession from their fathers, not by election but by inheritance, and that the institution of any other person would lead to acts of revenge on the part of the kin. He adds that these two abuses were evidently inherently British, inasmuch as they prevailed in Brittany also.

Example in the case of Caergybi.

The existence of portionary or tribal churches in Wales appears also in the 'Taxatio' of St. Nicholas in A.D. 1291, and as an actual instance of the application of tribal rules to ecclesiastical patronage it is only necessary to refer to the case of Caergybi in Anglesey, to which Mr. A. Neobard Palmer called attention, and the facts of which he was able to trace with remarkable success in the Record of Carnarvon.[2]

In this case two chieftains seem in the twelfth century to have joined in restoring the ruined church

[1] 'Ecclesiæ vero istorum omnes fere tot personas et participes habent, quot capitalium virorum in parochia genera fuerint.'—*Desc. Camb.* lib. ii. c. vi.

[2] *Portionary Churches of Mediæval North Wales*, annexed to Mr. Palmer's 'History of the Parish Church of Wrexham.'

The rights of patronage became subject to the rules of the *tir gweliawc.*

or monastery of Caergybi, and in the record of Carnarvon and another document of the fourteenth century the *weles* sprung from these two chieftains are still found to possess fractional rights of patronage to the canonries—rights which had descended to them according to the rules of *tir gweliawc.*

This is a late illustration of the extent to which the tribal system in Wales, as in Ireland, forced even ecclesiastical arrangements into its mould. And it adds interest to the earlier evidence of the same tendency already visible in the Cadoc records. In spite of the Continental form of the records on the ecclesiastical side, the recorded transactions themselves are distinctly those of tribal chieftains acting under tribal custom already formed and in force.

It was not without great hesitation that the substantial authenticity of these records was admitted, but, once admitted, the importance of their evidence made it necessary to give to them due place in this volume.[1]

[1] I am indebted to Mr. M. R. James, of King's College, Cambridge, for the suggestion that the Cadoc records may have been copied out of a Gospel book of Cadoc's Church, such a one being mentioned as 'yet remaining in the Church of St. Cadoc covered with gold and silver,' and as used by the Welsh for taking oaths upon, in *Caradoc of Lancarvon's Life of Gildas* (Usher's Works, v. 535).

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

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THROUGHOUT this volume attention has been purposely confined almost exclusively to the strictly Welsh evidence.

Cymric tribal system has been examined on its own evidence, and why?

Further light may undoubtedly be thrown upon the Cymric tribal system by extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems, and by a careful use of the comparative method. But in this volume the object has been to obtain a solid and independent foundation to be used as a stepping-stone to further research. And it seemed best to do this by the examination of the Cymric tribal system on its own evidence.

The reader will be able to judge how far this object has been substantially attained.

The description in the Codes confirmed by evidence from two opposite poles.

If, on the one hand, the facts recorded in the Denbigh and other Extents by the surveyors have been found to be the natural results of the long-continued use of the rules of customary tribal law collected and recorded in the Codes and other legal treatises, and if, on the other hand, the authenticity of their description of tribal custom has been in some main points corroborated by the records of sixth-century donations to the monasteries, then it may fairly be said that the picture of tribal society

derived from the Codes has received confirmation from two opposite poles.

In both cases, too, the evidence comes from outside of the tribal system itself, and from disinterested, legally trained, and independent witnesses.

Strength of the evidence of the Norman surveyors.

On the one hand, Norman surveyors, coming upon the tribal system full of manorial theories and used to manorial phraseology, found themselves compelled against their own instincts to describe large districts as still occupied by *weles* of tribesmen embracing descendants down to great-grandchildren and paying from time immemorial their *quota* of commuted food-rents. And again Norman lawyers, putting into their own legal language the donations of half-Anglicised tribal chieftains, found it needful to make the kinsmen and families of the chieftains join in the grants. Norman evidence on these points was reluctant and convincing.

The incidental evidence of sixth-century Gallic ecclesiastics equally convincing.

In the same way, on the other hand, Gallic ecclesiastics of the sixth century or later, accustomed to Roman law and to the use of Merovingian formulæ, found themselves under a similar necessity. Their incidental description of the habits of tribal chieftains, the family character of their tribal donations of land, and the prevalence of food-rents in the sixth as in the thirteenth century, when admitted as substantially authentic, was as impartial and convincing in its way as that of the later Norman surveyors.

Thus supported by extrinsic evidence from two quarters, before and after an interval of six centuries, the description of the tribal system in Wales contained in the Codes and legal treatises can no longer,

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it is submitted, be regarded with the same suspicion as may have been heretofore justified.

The fact of the existence of tribal custom explains the Codes and other treatises.

The existence of a body of tribal custom extending over so many centuries being now proved on independent and outside evidence, the character of the documents themselves becomes more easily understood. It becomes natural that at various times and in various localities collections of tribal rules and customs should be made, such as those which have come down to us of more or less merit and authority. The fact that some of them are modern, and yet contain ancient traditions of tribal rules in the form of Triads on the one hand and adaptations of modern forms of pleadings to Welsh customs on the other hand, no longer need raise suspicion of invention and literary dishonesty. For the tribal system was not a system coined by one brain and enacted by one lawgiver at a particular date. Its customary rules had grown up with the Cymric tribe in Northern Cumbrian lands as well as in the old Cymric district of Powys. Subject more or less to modification and growth, the structure of tribal society in its main features had existed in Wales from the first coming of Cunedda and his sons to the conquest of Edward I. It had lingered on, suffering, no doubt, partial disintegration, till the substitution of English for Welsh law under Henry VIII.

The Venedotian, Dimetian, and Gwentian Codes, traditionally dating back to the time of the first attempt to commit tribal customs to writing under Howell the Good, contain undisguised additions of later date. These additions imply the previous existence of the main body of custom, and in no way

suggest its modern origin. The more private and recent treatises, written after the conquest, add greatly to our knowledge of ancient custom, without professing to add anything to its authority.

The conquest itself, and the necessary inquiries of Norman lawyers into the mysteries of tribal law, may well have been the direct cause of the making of some of these collections; and the fact that Welsh law was not abolished till the statute of Henry VIII., and not forgotten till the Crown lawyers of Queen Elizabeth brought the various classes of tenants—free tribesmen and non-tribesmen—under some category of English law, explains the possibility of even very late versions of old tribal custom. But the later the version and the farther it was removed from the time when ancient tribal custom existed in its full force, the more difficult would it be for its author to invent a body of custom from which it would be possible to arrive at the principles and details of the structure of a tribal society such as that examined in the foregoing pages.

The intrinsic evidence the strongest proof of authenticity after all.

The strongest possible proof that such a tribal society as is described in the Codes and treatises once existed in Wales must after all be found in the fact that, so far from its being isolated in its character, it is so full of analogies, and bears in its structure marks of such close relationship to other tribal systems, that it is quite impossible to believe it could have been the result of later invention or imposture. This intrinsic evidence, after all, is the strongest proof of its substantial authenticity.

On the whole, therefore, recurring to the object of this volume and its place in the wider economic

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inquiry of which it forms only a part, it is with some confidence that the tribal system in Wales is placed before economic students as worthy of careful study.

No attempt has been made to forestall the results of further critical examination of Celtic manuscripts by competent Celtic scholars, or to exhaust the rich materials for Welsh history which lie all but unused in the Public Record Office.

The real knowledge of one tribal system the best stepping-stone to a knowledge of others.

New material will be discovered, and that imperfectly made use of in this volume will require repeated reconsideration. Some of the inferences drawn from it will, no doubt, need correction. But in so far as the attempt has been approximately successful to place the knowledge of the main features of one single tribal system upon a solid foundation of evidence, a step at least will have been gained towards a knowledge of other tribal systems and of their place in economic history.

The further pursuance of the inquiry, with reference chiefly to the methods of this and other tribal societies, must be left to another volume.

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Rentals and Surveys Roll 768, *Public Record Office*.[1]

ANGLESEYA.

APP. A a. A.D. 1294.

Extenta facta de villa de Lammas die Lune in c^{a}stino sc̃i Gregoř Anno Regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo sc̃do.

De Redd Burgagioꝫ vill de Lammas p annū—viij. lī .viij. s̄ .v. d̄ . õ q^{a}.

s̄s Sm^{a}—viij. lī .viij. s̄ .v. d̄ . ob̄ q^{a}.

De xiij carucať terř que sunt in d̄nico Maneř de Lammas videlt de q^{a}libꝫ carucať xxx. s̄.

s̄s Sm^{a}—xx. lī .x. s̄.

De quodam p^{a}to ibid̄ p annū .xxx. s̄.

De gardiñ Maꝺii p annū—vj. s̄ .viij. d̄.

De q^{o}dam molend̄ aq^{a}tico .C. s̄. Et aliud Molend̄ in eod̄ Maꝺio obrutū de quo nich̄.

s̄s Sm^{a}—vj. lī .xvj. s̄ . viij. d̄.

De passag̃ eiusd̄m p annū—xij. lī. De quolꝫ doleo vini ꝛ ꝯuiš venientis ad portum ꝛ cariag̃ de portu usq; ad villam sumptibꝫ Reg̃ .x. d̄. De custuñ Mesyaꝫ alleč vendiť vidꝫ p .v. Meyš .j. d̄ . que valet .x. s̄. De quolibꝫ batello Exit^{9} port^{9}

[1] The 'copy' herein referred to is Rentals and Surveys Roll 769, P.R.O.

App. A a. A.D. 1294.

piscanť alleč exeunte vl ingrediente portum .j. Meiš Regi ꝑ .ij. š . que custumma valꝫ ꝑ annū xvij. š. De custūma cuiᵒlibet nauis applicanť ad portū . iiij. đ . que valet .xxvj. š .viij. đ. Đ custuma batelloꝫ quoꝫ quilibꝫ semel in annū cariare deb victuaŧ đni Reg̃ .xvj. š. Đ .v. passagiariis portᵒ que debnt sumptibꝫ ꝑpᵗis in batello Reg̃ face passagiū ꝑ una caruč ꝛ duabꝫ bouať terr̃ quas tenēt .xv. š .viij. đ. Đ Theoloneo Carroꝫ carianciū corea lanas ꝛ alias M'candiš nūdinar̃ pañ cuiš Medoñ carnificū pistoꝫ sutoꝫ ꝑ annū .viij. lī .viij. š. Đ furno Reg̃ .xl. š. Đ quolꝫ bracineo cuiš .xxx. lag̃ ꝑ .vij. đ . ob . de quo .lx. š. Đ opač ville de Lammas vidꝫ . Metend cariand ꝛ ħciand .xxvj. š .viij. đ. De amč Cuī releuiis ꝛ aliis ꝑquiš .xij. lī .x. š.

šs Smª—xliij. lī .x. š .x. đ.

šs Smª toᵗ. vilŧ de Lammas—Lxxviij. lī .v. š .xj. đ . ob qª.

Commotᵒ de Dyndaythow.

De Redđ asš . vilŧ de Thlandeuenay .Lvj. š ij. đ.

Iťm de potuť .xxiiij. š.

šs Smª—iiij. lī .ij. đ.

De Redđ asš vilŧ de Bathaŭneneytha .Lxvij. š .vj. đ.

Đ potuť eiᵒsđ .xxx. š.

šs Smª .iiij. lī .xvij. š .vj. đ.

De redđ asš vilŧ de Bathaŭwyon cū potura .Lxxviij. š .viij. đ.

šs Smª—Lxxviij. š .viij. đ.

De redđ asš vilŧ de Pentreyth .Lxxiiij. š .iiij. đ . ō.

Đ potuť eiᵒđ ville .xxx. š.

šs Smª .Ciiij. š .iiij. đ . ob.

De redđ asš vilŧ de Castilheuthlaur .viij. š .x. đ . ō.

Đ potuť eiᵒđ .iiij. š.

šs Smª .xij. š .x. đ . ob.

De redđ asš vilŧ de Dynthylow ꝛ de ŝuič hoīm eiᵒđ .xxij. š .iiij. đ.

Đ potʳa eiᵒđ—.xlvj. š .iiij. đ.

ss Sm^{a}—Lxviij. s .viij. d.

De redd ass de Bodeueneu .xxvj. s .viij. d.

Đ Đnico ei^{o}đm .vj. s.

Đ potuꝛ ei^{o}đ .xlvj. s .iiij. d.

De consuetudine ꝯ ꝥuic hoim ei^{o}đm .xiij. s .x. d.

ss Sm^{a} .iiij. lī .xij. s .x. d.

Đ redd ass vilt de Chstelbulhen .xviij. s .iij. d.

ss Sm^{a} .xviij. s .iij. d.

Đ redd ass vilt de Perkyr .v. s.

Đ potuꝛ ei^{o}đ .iij. s.

ss Sm^{a}—viij. s.

Đ redd ass vilt de Portaythowe Cons ꝯ ꝥuic .x. s.

Đ passag ei^{o}đ .Liij. s .iiij. d.

ss Sm^{a} .Lxiij. s .iiij. d.

Đ redd ass cons ꝯ ꝥuic ville de Garytegwain vj. s .j. d.

ss Sm^{a}—vj. s .j. d.

Đ redd ass ville de Trefforbolch .iij. s .iiij. d.

ss Sm^{a}—iij. s .iiij. d.

Đ redd ass ville de Cremelynhelyn .iij. s .iiij. d.

De potuꝛ ei^{o}d—xiij. s .ix. d.

ss Sm^{a}—xvij. s .j. d.

Đ aduocaꝛ toci^{o} cōmoti ꝑdci .xvij. s .ij. d.

ss Sm^{a}—xvij. s .ij. d.

ss Sm^{a} . to^{t} . hui^{o} Cōmoꝛ—xxxiij. lī .viij. s .iiij. d. ꝑ.

Extenta Manꝺii de Abberfray.

Primo . dicunt q̄d in Manꝺio de Abberfrau sunt .v. carucaꝛ ꝛre ꝯ vat carucaꝛ ꝑ annū .xxx. s.

ss Sm^{a}—vij. lī .x. s.

Item sunt ibi .iij. Molend . que Reddit[1] ꝑ annū lx crannoc blad ꝯ vat c^{a}nnoc .ij. s.

ss Sm^{a}—vj. lī.

Itm de duob^{3} p^{a}ꝛ q̄ vat ꝑ annū .xiij. s .iiij. d.

[1] So in the Record.

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Redd̄ liḃoꝫ teñ eiꝰd̄ Maṉii.

Iť de qª d̄ piscaŕ q̄ vaŧ p̱ annū .ij. s̄.

s̄s Smª .xv. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

De redd̄ liḃoꝫ teñ eiꝰd̄ ville .xxix. s̄ .viij. d̄.

Iť de Hameletto de Bodeueurykᵽ de redd̄ ass̄ .xv. s̄ .xj. d̄.

Iťm de Hameletto de Trefwaspatrykᵽ de redd̄ ass̄ liḃe teñ .x. s̄.

Đ villañ eiꝰd̄ ville de Tunkᵽ .v. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Đ eisd̄m villañ in farina butiŕ ꝛt lacte ꝛt opaŧ .xiij. s̄ .vij. d̄ . ob̄.

Đ Hameleto de Trefberewet de redd̄ .ix. villañ .ix. s̄ .viij. d̄.

Đ iiijᵒʳ cªnoc̄ faŕ ordei .v. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

Đ .ix. Multoñ .iiij. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Đ ix agnis xviij. d̄ . de eisd̄m villañ de butiro .ij. s̄ .iij. d̄.

Đ . C .iiij. $\overset{xx}{}$ oū .vij. d̄.

Đ . ix. galliñ ix. d̄.

Đ dc̄is ix hōibꝫ xxxvj. s̄ .ij. d̄ . ō p̱ opaŕ . Clxj. diei.

s̄s Smª—vj. lī .xv. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Đ Hameleto de Dyncloydan de redd̄ uniꝰ villañ .ij. s̄. vidꝫ de Đd Hiḃnico v̄l medieť blad̄ ꝛt lacť q̄d vocatʳ M⁀ionuth.

Đ filiis Grigori ab Lewelyn de una cªnnoc̄ fr̄i ꝛt iiijᵒʳ Cªnnoc̄ aueñ viij. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Đ eisd̄m de duobꝫ Multoñ xij. d̄.

De duobꝫ agnis iiij. d̄.

Đ eisd̄m de butiŕ vj d̄.

Đ eisd̄ de .xl. ouis j. d̄ . ō.

Đ eisd̄m de vj galliñ vj. d̄.

Đ eisd̄ de op̄ xxx. dieꝫ .iij. s̄ .ix. d̄.

Đ Pellipaŕ de dimid̄ cªnnoc̄ faŕ ordei de Med̄ uniꝰ Multoñ de Med̄ uniꝰ agni . Đ .x. cunis de butiŕ de Med̄ uniꝰ galline xiij. d̄ . ō . Đ opac̄ eiꝰd̄ vij. dieꝫ .xj. d̄ . qª

Smª—xviij. s̄ .ix. d̄ . qª.

De Hameleto de Weuentefrau de redd̄ villanoꝫ eiꝰd̄ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

Đ eisđ de uno angno ꝯ dimiđ Angñ de butiř de xxx cunis de .v. galliñ ꝯ dimiđ ꝯ de uno istor bladi de opaĉ t^{i}um dieꝫ .xviij. đ . õ . ꝯ Respondđ de M^{r}yonnyth cũ villañ de Trefberewet.

Đ villañ de Aberfraw de redđ assꝫ dĉoꝫ villanoꝫ .viij. ß .viij. đ.

Đ eisđ de .x. c^{a}nnoĉ ꝯ dimiđ fři.

Đ .vij. c^{a}nĉ fař aueñ.

Đ .iiij^{or}. c^{a}nnoĉ fař ordei .xlviij. ß .vij. đ.

Đ .ix. villañ ei^{o}đ ville de lacť t^{i}um vaccaꝫ . de iiij^{or} Multoñ dimiđ.

Đ .ix. angnis . de butiř.

Đ .CL. oũ.

De xxvij galliñ—xvj. ß .iij. đ.

Đ .vj. teneñ vastis . de t^{i}bꝫ Multoñ . Đ .vj. angnis . de .ix. galliñ de butiro.

De C. oũ .v. ß .j. đ.

Iťm sunt in dĉa villa .ix. villani de q^{i}bꝫ xxvij galliñ .ij. ß .iij. đ.

Đ quolꝫ eoꝫ opaĉ t^{i}um dieꝫ ad serclanđ bladđ ꝯ vał opaĉo eoꝫ .ij. ß .iij. đ . q^{ꝫ} quilibꝫ eoꝫ recipit unũ panem ꝑ diem.

Đ eisđ villañ ꝑ igne ꝯ st^{a}mine in Cuř đni Reğ .xxx, ß.

Iťm de opaĉ in Autūpno de CCC hoĩbꝫ quos .xv. villani de Manio inuenient . ꝯ de $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ hõibꝫ quos villani forinseĉ de Cantređ inueniēt .Lxvj. ß .ix. đ.

Iťm de . DC . hoĩbꝫ ꝯ equis ad ħcianđ ꝑ unũ diē Lxxv. ß . ꝑ diem j. đ . õ.

Iťm de ꝑquiš Cuř . de Aberfraw .xl. ß.

Đ pastuř .xx. ß

Itm de dĉis villañ de Aberfraw .x. c^{a}nnoĉ aueñ ad ꝑbendđ .vj. ß .viij. đ.

ßs Sm^{a} .xvj. lĩ .vj. ß .iiij. đ . ob̃.

ßs Sm^{a} toł—xxxviij. lĩ .v. ß .xj. đ . õ . q^{a}.

Extenta de Cantred de Aberfrau.

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Đ redd̄ assš de Tounsokꝯ ⁊ aliis Hameleť de ꝑgēie Hona .viij. lī .v. s̄.

Iťm de eisd̄ vilt .xl. cⁿnoc̄ farīe aueñ ꝑ .iiij. lī.

Iťm .x. cⁿnoc̄ fr̄i ꝑc̄ .xx. s̄.

s̄s Smª .xiij. lī .v. s̄.

Đ vilt de Trefoweyn de redd̄ . liḃe tenenc̄ .xxxiij. s̄ .xj. d̄ . ō.

s̄s Smª—xxxiij. s̄ .xj. d̄ . ō.

Đ vilt de Kelemokꝯ de redd̄ assš liḃe teñ .xvj. s̄ . de villa de Bodelowe . de redd̄ assš liḃe teñ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Đ vilt de Thwayn de redd̄ assš liḃe tenenť .xxxvij. s̄.

Iťm de ead̄ vilt de teñ Maꝑ Ad̄ Goch̄ xl s̄.

s̄s Smª—iiij. lī .xv. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Đ vilt de Drianuylch̄ ⁊ Trefichod de redd̄ assš liḃoꝫ hōum .Liiij. s̄ .ix. d̄.

s̄s Smª .Liiij. s̄ .ix. d.

Đ . vilt de Bodarchewrau de redd̄ assš liḃe teñ .v. s̄.

Iťm de iij cⁿnoc̄ ⁊ dī faŕ aueñ .vij. s̄.

s̄s Smª .xij. s̄.

Đ vilt de Crucanel de redd̄ assš liḃe teñ .vij. s̄ .xj. d̄. Iť de .iij. cⁿnoc̄ faŕ .vj. s̄.

s̄s Smª .xiij. s̄ .xj. d̄.

Đ vilt de [1] Griffry de redd̄ assš liḃe teñ .x. s̄.

Iť de vilt de Bochornach̄ de redd̄ assš liḃe teñ .xxiij. s̄ .v. d̄ . ō.

Đ vilt filioꝫ Meurikꝯ de redd̄ villanoꝫ .xix. s̄ .iiij. d̄ . ō ⁊ Iacent in vasto .iij. bouaŕ terr̄.

Iť de fr̄o uniº cⁿnoc̄ dimid̄ ⁊ j. buselť ꝑc̄ iiij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ . ō.

Iť iiijᵒʳ. cⁿnoc̄ faŕ aueñ ꝑc̄ viij. s̄.

Iťm de potuŕ .Dxx. hoīm ꝑ unū diē .xliij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ . vidꝫ ꝑ hoīe ꝑ unū diē .j. d̄.

[1] *T* in the copy.

Iĩm de iiij xx equis q̃ valent .x. s̃ . vidʒ ꝑ equo .j. d̃ . õ.

Iĩm de quolʒ villañ unus porc^{9} . si ħuerint porc̃ . ꝑc̃ xx. d̃.

De q^{a}libʒ domo una gallina de ꝑc̃ .j. d̃ ꝛ valʒ .ix. d̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .vj. lĩ .xj. d̃ . õ.

Đ vilł de Bodenaylwỳn de redd̃ villanoꝝ .v. s̃.

Iĩ de fr̃o .ij. c^{a}nnoc̃ . ꝑc̃ .v. s̃.

Iĩ . iiij.^{or} c^{a}nnoc̃ faꝛ̃ aueñ ꝛ iij. bus̃ ꝑc̃ .ix. s̃ .vj. d̃.

Iĩm in potuꝛ̃ .CCClx. hoĩm ꝑ unū diē xxx. s̃.

Iĩ de potuꝛ̃ .Cxx. eq^{l}s .xv. s̃.

Iĩ de q^{o}lʒ villano j. porc̃ de ꝑc̃ .xx. d̃.

Iĩ de q^{o}lʒ villañ [j galliñ ꝛ] sunt viij vilł ꝛ vał . viij d̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .Lxvj. s̃ .x. d̃.

Đ vilł de Trefolyn de redd̃ as̃s̃ . cons̃ ꝛ aliis ꝺuic̃ .x. s̃ .x. d̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .x. s̃ .x. d̃.

Đ vilł de [Thledwygant]hles de redd̃ as̃s̃ liƀoꝝ hoĩm .xxiiij. s̃ .ix. d̃.

Đ .j. c^{a}nnoc̃ faꝛ̃ aũe ij. s̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .xxvj. s̃ .ix. d̃.

Đ vilł de [Bodbetwyn] de[redd̃ as̃s̃] liƀoꝝ hoĩm .xxj. s̃ .iij. d̃.

Sm^{a} .xxj s̃ .iij d̃.

Đ vilł de [Trefdrefvastrondeon] de redd̃ as̃s̃ liƀe teñ Lxiij. s̃.

Iĩ de iiij^{or}. c^{a}nnoc̃ faꝛ̃ . aũe . dimid̃ ꝛ .ij. ꝑtibʒ .j. bus̃s̃ ix. s̃ .iij. d̃.

Iĩ de d[uobʒ lageñ butiꝛ̃] x. d̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .Lxxiij. s̃ .ij. d̃.

Đ vilł de Trefdrefdysteyn de redd̃ as̃s̃ iiij lƀ xvj. s̃ .x. d̃. õ q^{a} . de una c^{a}nnoc̃ fr̃i . Đ una c^{a}nnoc̃ aueñ ꝛ dimid̃ ꝛ de xij [ferꝛ̃] equoꝝ vj s̃ vj. d̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .C .iij. s̃ .iiij. d̃ . õ . q^{a}.

Đ vilł de Badaon [1] de redd̃ as̃s̃ .xxij. s̃ .iiij. d̃.

[1] Bodaon in the copy.

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ss Sm^{a} . xxij s . iiij d.

Đ vilt de Dorodeweyt de redd ass . viij s viij d.

ss Sm^{a} . viij s viij d.

Đ vilt de Trefwalkemay de redd ass̃ .xviij. s .ij. d . de duob^{z} c^{a}nnoc̃ far̃ aũe ꝛt ij . ptib^{z} uni^{9} c^{a}nnoc̃ v. s .iiij. d.

ss Sm^{a} . xxiij s vj. d.

Đ vilt de [Trygor] de redd ass .xij. s .iiij. d.

ss Sm^{a} .xij. s .iiij. d.

Đ vilt de [Dryndrovelt] de redd ass̃ [xxxviij s . iiij d ob̃].

[Đ iiij] c^{a}nnoc̃ fr̃i .x. s.

Đ [vij] c^{a}nnoc̃ far̃ aueñ xiiij s.

Đ iij vas̃ [but]uf̃ . [xij s de eadm vilt cum duob^{z} villanis de Trefdraes de potuf̃].

De potuf̃ .Lxxij. eq̃ [ix s . De] potuf̃ CCxl. hoĩm ꝛt caniũ xx. s.

[ss Sm^{a}] .Ciij. s .iiij. d - õ.

Đ vilt de Rosm[awr de Redd ass̃ .xx. s̃].

Đ potuf̃ [l]j eq̃ .xviij. s .x. d . õ.

Đ potuf̃ [de .D. hoĩm] ꝑ unũ die̅ .L. s.

ss Sm^{a} iiij lĩ viij s̃ x d õ.

Đ vilt de [Keuentrefraw] de redd ass̃ iij s iiij d . de potuf̃ . iiij $\overset{xx}{\text{equo}}$^{z} x s . de potuf̃ . CCxl hoĩm ꝛt caniũ xx. s.

ss Sm^{a} .xxxiij. s .iiij. d.

Đ om̃ib^{z} villañ de dc̃a Cantreda de vj c^{a}nnoc̃ fr̃i . xv s̃.

Đ .xix. c^{a}nnoc̃ far̃ aueñ xxxviij. s̃.

Đ viij c^{a}nnoc̃ aueñ ad ꝑb̃ .v. s̃ .iiij. d.

De xxvij galliñ .ij. s .iij. d.

Đ quol^{z} unũ porcũ si ꝥuerint de ꝑcio .xx. d.

Ilt̃ q^{l}l^{z} eo^{z} debet arrare semel in annũ q̃ val^{z} . xxiiij s viij d.

ss Sm^{a} .iiij. lĩ .vj. s̃ .xj. d.

Đ placit̃ ꝛt ꝓquis Cantrede de Aberfraw .xl. s̃.

s̃s Sm^{a} .xl. s.

ss Sm^{a} to^{l} Cantrede de Aberfrau—Lxv. lī .xvij. s .vij. d. o . q.

Extenta Manꝺii de Kemmeys.

Primo dicūt qd sūt in Maꝺio de Kemmeys .iiij^{or}. carucaꝛ terr̄ ꝑc caruc̄ .xxx. s . ꝑ annū.

ss Sm^{a} vj. lī.

Đ iiij^{or} . p^{a}tis . ibiđ que valent ꝑ annū xx. s.

De gardino ibiđ .xl. đ.

Đ t^{i}bꝫ . Molenđ . $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ crannoc̄ farine aueñ viij. lī ꝑc crannoc̄ ij. s.

De piscaꝛ ibiđ .iij. s . iiij đ.

ss Sm^{a} .ix. lī .vj. s .viij. đ.

Đ redđ assꝫ liƀe teñ ville de Kemmeys .Cvj. s .xj. đ.

ss Sm^{a} .Cvj. s .xj. đ.

Đ villañ . ei^{9}đ ville de aliis consꝫ . ꝛ ꝺuic̄ . ꝑ annū .xiij. lī. .xiiij s.

ss Sm^{a} xiij lī xiiij s.

Đ placiꝛ ꝛ ꝑquis Cuꝛ .xl s.

ss Sm^{a} xl. s.

ss Sm^{a} to^{l} Maꝺii de Kemmeys .xxxvj. lī .vij. s .vij. đ. ꝑƀ.

Extenta Cōmoꝛ de Talboleon.

Đ redđ assꝫ vilt de Tref nedeuent de liƀo teñ xxxvij. s . đ

ss Sm^{a} xxxxij. s .ij. đ.

Đ vilt de Thlanvugel Thledwyghan[1] de redđ assꝫ .xj. s.

ss Sm^{a} .xj. s.

Đ vilt de Threfchlawrch̄ . de redđ assꝫ liƀoꝫ teñ . ei^{9}đ ville xlviij. s.

ss Sm^{a} .xlviij. s.

Đ vilt de Codanewe de redđ assꝫ vij. s vij. đ . o.

ss Sm^{a} .vij. s vij. đ . o.

[1] Thledwygan only in the copy.

APP. A a.

A.D. 1294.

Đ vilt de Bodaokꝯ de redđ assꝫ .xj. ſ.

ſs Sm^{a} .xj. ſ.

Đ vilt de Carnethouꝛ̃ de villanis ei^{o}đ de Tunkꝯ xiiij ſ iiij đ.

De eisđm villañ ꝑ potuꝛ̃ ꝯ conſ Lxij ſ v. đ.

De terra Yarward fit Maddocy viij ſ iij. đ.

Đ terris vastis ei^{o}đ ville xj. ſ.

ſs Sm^{a} .iiij. lī .xvj. ſ.

Đ redđ assꝫ . ville de Trefwadokꝯ .xlix. ſ .viij. đ.

ſs Sm^{a} .xlix. ſ .viij. đ.

Đ redđ assꝫ liƀoꝝ vilt de Kemelyn .xix. ſ .xj. đ.

De villañ ei^{o}đ ville ꝑ potuꝛ̃ ꝯ aliis ꝰuiĉ .xxxiij. ſ. viij. đ.

ſs Sm^{a} .Liij. ſ .vij đ.

Đ vilt de Kardekande de redđ assꝫ liƀoꝝ hoīm Lxxvj. ſ.

ſs Sm^{a} .Lxxvj. ſ.

Đ vilt de Thlegarn de redđ assꝫ liboꝝ hoīm Lix ſ .v. đ.

ſs Sm^{a} .Lix. ſ .v. đ.

Đ vilt de Bronewey ꝯ Conternowe de redđ assꝫ . liƀoꝝ hoīm .xxix. ſ .xj. đ.

ſs Sm^{a} xxix ſ xj. đ.

Đ villa de Aberhalowe de redđ assꝫ liƀoꝝ hoīm v. ſ.

De villanis ei^{o}đ ville de Tungꝯ .xvij. ſ vj. đ.

de eisđm villanis ꝑ potuꝛ̃ ꝯ aliis ꝰuiĉ .xxiij. ſ .v. đ.

de ꝯra Ađ Ruffy dī m̃.

Đ ꝯra Map Porth vj. ſ.

de ꝯra Hona fit Keñ .v ſ.

de ꝯra ꝰui garcilis ij. ſ .v. đ.

ſs Sm^{a} .Lxvj. ſ.

Đ vilt de Bodewygan de redđ assꝫ .xiij đ.

ſs Sm^{a} .xiij đ.

Đ villa de Thalanuoyl de potuꝛ̃ ꝯ opaĉ villanoꝝ ei^{o}đ ville— iiij. lī .xvij. ſ . oƀ.

ſs Sm^{a} iiij lī xvij ſ oƀ.

Đ vilt de Carnethur de Tunḡ .v. ſ . de potuꝛ̃ ꝯ aliis conſ .xj. ſ .iiij. đ.

ss Sm^{a} .xvj. s .iiij d.

Đ vilt de Thlandogewel de Tunḡ .xx. d. de pot^{r}ra ⁊ aliis cons .viij s iiij d.

ss Sm^{a} .x s.

Đ vilt de Bodewarnan de redd villano^{z} x s.

ss Sm^{a} .x s.

Đ vilt de Boderonyn de redd ⁊ cons villano^{z} xxvj. s .vj. d.

ss Sm^{a} xxvj s vj d.

Đ vilt de Meriogan de cons villano^{z} .xxiiij s.

ss Sm^{a} xxiiij s.

Đ vilt de Trefnegoch de redd potuĩ ⁊ cons villano^{z} xxiiij s ix d õ q^{a}.

ss Sm^{a} .xxiiij s ix d õ q^{a}.

Đ ꝑteẍionib^{z} eiusdm Commoti viij s j d.

ss Sm^{a} viij s j d.

Đ ꝑquis ei^{9}d Commoti xl. s.

ss Sm^{a} xl. s.

ss Sm^{a} to^{t} hui^{9} Cōmoti .xl. lĩ .iij s .ij d õ q^{a} ꝑ.

Extenta Manii de Penros.

Đ redd ass ei^{9}d Manii . Lviij s iiijd.

Itm de eod ꝑ ꝑsentacōm iurato^{z} . xxiij s xj d.

Đ dnico . iiij^{or} carucat terr ⁊ vat caruc .xxx. s.

Itm de t^{i}b^{z} Molend iiij. lĩ .vj. s .viij. d . de potuĩ CC .x. hoĩm . CCCC . ij . eq^{o}^{z} . Cix s õ q^{a}.

de redd blad iiij lĩ xiiij s j. d.

Itt de M^{o}yonnith lactis cui^{9}d Rustici viij. s .ix. d.

Đ redd butiĩ xj. s .vij. d.

Đ blado ad ꝑbend Palefrid dni ij s.

Đ angñ . ⁊ gallinis vj s viij d.

Đ redd ferĩ fabĩ . iij s.

... error . . extenta ... a...e... original ...

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de ouis ⁊ butiř vj đ.

De cariag̃ turbaꝝ ⁊ tr̃bis x s̃.

Đ literř dī mar̃.

Opa ⁊ consˢ vilł de Penros.

s̃s Smª .xxvij lī xiiij đ . õ . qª.

Đ villañ . eiusđm ꝑ ꝰuicio in Autūpno . Scꝫ ꝑ .iij. Mens̃ . singłm . Mens̃ . ꝑ viij dies . s . singl̃o . dieꝝ ꝑ xxxvj hoīes. q̃d ꝰuic̃ valet ꝑ diē singulo j. đ . õ—C . viij s̃ . De xiij. Coꝰelł ꝑ opibꝫ xiij hoīm ꝑ iij dies in autūpno q̃d ꝰuic̃ valet iiij s̃ x đ õ . de opibꝫ .xx. equoꝝ sine garcioñ ad ħcianđ tēpe yemali . ꝑ unū diē q̃d valet xx. đ . De opibꝫ .vj. xx equoꝝ v. garc̃ ad ħcianđ tēpe qªdrag̃ . ꝑ unū diē q̃d valet xl. + s̃.

Đ opibꝫ . xviij gauelocꝝ quoꝝ quilꝫ debꝫ ħciař ꝑ .iij. Mens̃ . vidꝫ ꝑ iiij .x. dies cū uno equo ⁊ uno garcõe . q̃d val . xiij + lī . x s̃.

Đ eisđm de opibꝫ extªhenciū fimū cū xx . equis ⁊ garcõem ꝑ unū diē .xl. đ.

Smª—xxj. lī .vij. s̃ .x. đ . ob̃.

Smª Mañii de Penros .xlviij. lī .ix. s̃ .j. đ . qª.

[On a small parchment schedule sewed on to the Roll the following appears.]

Videtr q̃d sit error in extenta Manerii de Penros in ꝑtic̃lis s̃bscıꝑt̃ . Videłt ⁘ de redđ eiusđm Mañii . Potura hoīm ⁊ eqoꝝ . Et redđ bladi . que id̃o sunt cruce signati in extenta.

Smª .xiiij. lī .v. s̃ .iiij. đ . ob̃ qª . Qui respctuantr ꝑ errore usq; sup̃ comꝑ Cam̃arii . corā consilio Pınc̃ ꝑ petic̃onem villanoꝝ de Penros ad ꝑliamentū ꝰmīo sc̃i Hillarii . Anno Regni Reg̃ Edwardi Tricesimo tercio.

Commotº de Turkelyn.

Đ redđ ass̃ ville de Henescot vj. s̃ .viij. đ.

s̃s Smª .vj. s̃ .viij. đ.

Slagoruc[1] ⁊ Sleckou cū ꝑtiñ de redđ assꝫ j mªc̃.

Đ potuř eoꝫđ xxij ꝫ iiij đ.

Đ ꝛra G'uasii fit Phi que nūc est in manu Reg̃ xxiij ꝫ x đ.

ꝫs Smª . Lix ꝫ .vj. đ.

Sistulas cū ꝑtiñ de villa ꝓdc̃a cū villis sⁱ respondentibꝫ viij lī vij ꝫ vj. đ.

ꝫs Smª . viij lī vij ꝫ vj. đ.

Đ hōibꝫ de Curchlayt Manentibꝫ ꝛr teñ de Sistulas . ꝑ potuř . Lxviij hoīm . Lxviij canū ⁊ iiijᵒʳ eq̃ xj. ꝫ .x đ.

ꝫs Smª .xj. ꝫ x đ.

Đ redđ assꝫ ville de Reccow . xlviij ꝫ viij đ.

ꝫs Smª . xlviij ꝫ viij đ.

Bodaneu ⁊ Bodenawyn cū ꝑtiñ de eisđ de redđ assꝫ vj. lī .xvij ꝫ iiij đ.

ꝫs Smª .vj. lī .xvij ꝫ iiij đ.

Đ potuř eiꝰđ ꝑ CCCL . hōibꝫ . ⁊ Lxxv . canū ⁊ Lxxv . eq̃ ꝑ unū diē q̃d vał xl ꝫ vij đ ō. Codanou ⁊ Both-unokℓ.

Đ opibꝫ ꝑ tres dies in Autumpno sing̃lo die ꝑ xvj hoīes q̃d vał xvj. ꝫ . sing̃lo ꝓc̃ ꝑ diē j. đ ō.

de Lx . galł ⁊ iiijᵒʳ angnis eoꝫđ v. ꝫ .vj. đ.

Đ M'ionitħ eiꝰđ cū vilł adiac̃ . ꝫ . Rosmanacħ Bodeueney ⁊ Derẏ iiij lī vij ꝫ j đ ō.

de eisđm vj cªnnoc̃ aueñ que vał iiij ꝫ.

Iī de eisđ ꝑ aũagiis . xj ꝫ iiij đ.

ꝫs Smª—vij lī xiiij ꝫ vij đ.

Đ redđ assꝫ teñ eiꝰđ x ꝫ. Bode ueneu.

Đ opibꝫ xv hoīm in eađ villa ad metenđ ꝑ unū diē q̃d vał xxij. đ . oƀ.

Iī de xv. galł ⁊ uno angno .xvj. đ.

Iī de tⁱbꝫ crannoc̃ fři de redđ vij ꝫ vj đ.

ꝫs Smª xx ꝫ ix đ ō.

[1] Tlagoruc in the copy.

Rosmangħ.

Đ reddđ ei⁹đm . iij ꝭ iiij đ . de opib₃ xxvij hoīm ad metenđ p unū diem . iij ꝭ iiij đ ob.

Itm de xxvij galł ꝛ uno angñ de reddđ ij ꝭ v đ.

Itm de uno teñ ei⁹đ j c^a nnoc̄ fr̄i q̄d val₃ .ij. ꝭ vj đ.

ꝭs Sm^a xj ꝭ vij đ ō.

Derẏ.

De opib₃ .xxiiij. hoīm ad metenđ p j . diem . iij ꝭ.

Iƚ . de xxiiij galł ꝛ angñ ꝛ dī ij ꝭ iij đ de iiij^or villanis sup^a dc̄is . s . Boteynokę Bodeueneu Rosmangħ ꝛ Derẏ . p potur̄ CCCC . hoīm .CC. canū .CC. eq̄ p unū diē .Lxxv. ꝭ.

ꝭs Sm^a .iiij. lī .iij. đ.

Bodewryt.

Đ reddđ ij ꝭ vj. đ.

Itm p potur̄ . xlix hoīm . xlviij canū ꝛ iij eq̄ p unū diem viij ꝭ v đ ō.

Iƚ de uno c^a nnoc̄ far̄ aueñ .ij. ꝭ.

ꝭs Sm^a . xij ꝭ xj. đ ō.

Slorathenryet.

Đ reddđ ei⁹đ dī m̄.

Troscloyndysteynet de reddđ dī m̄.

Đ Bedelł toƚ cōmoƚ de reddđ ij ꝭ vj đ.

Iƚ p eisđm ij c^a nnoc̄ fr̄i v ꝭ.

Iƚ p viij c^a nnoc̄ ꝛ ꝭcia pte j . c^a nnoc̄ far̄ aueñ xvj ꝭ viij đ.

Đ aduocar̄ v. ꝭ x đ.

Đ batelł de portu de Dulas .xx. đ.

ꝭs Sm^a xlv. ꝭ.

Nanmaur̄ Sudon Vach^a n p Regē.

Đ reddđ asꝭ ei⁹đ . Lx ꝭ ij đ.

Iƚ de vij c^a nnoc̄ ꝛ dī fr̄i de reddđ xviij. ꝭ . ix đ.

Iƚ de xxviij c^a nnoc̄ dimiđ iij busꝭ farñ auē . Liij ꝭ vj đ.

ꝭs Sm^a .vj. lī .xij. ꝭ .v. đ.

ꝭs Sm^a toł hui⁹ Cōmoƚ . xliiij lī ix ꝭ .j. đ . ō.

Extenta Cōmoť de Mene.

Primo Rẽndunt[1] de đnico ꝑp[i]o Reg̃ q̃d sunt in Maꝏio de Rofeyr̃ .x. car̃ terr̃ de q[i]b3 . vj caruc̃ sūt de đnico ꝛ iiij[or] de excaeť ꝛ vał . quel3 . caruc̃ .xxx. s.

ss Sm[a] . xv lĩ.

Iť̃m de Gardino đni Reg̃ . iij s.

Iť de iij[b3] . p[a]tis v. s.

Iť de pastur̃ . xx s.

Iť de t[i]b3 Molend que Rẽndunt[1] de xx iiij c[a]nnoc̃ far̃ ꝛ vał Cvj s viij đ ꝑc̃ c[a]nnoc̃ .xvj. đ. Concesse Regine ꝑ Regem

Iť de firmar̃ ꝛ villanis de redđ ass̃ xxx s xj. đ.

Iť de Albo ꝛ Mꝏionitħ vj s iij đ.

Iť de eođ vj c[a]nnoc̃ fr̃i ꝛ vał xv. s.

Iť de eođ iij c[a]nnoc̃ far̃ ordei ꝛ val iiij s.

Iť de villañ de xxij c[a]nnoc̃ iij b3 far̃ ordei ꝛ vał xxx s iiij đ.

Iť de xij villañ q̃ tenēt xij gauelł una teñ ꝛ rendunt[1] xij c[a]nnoc̃ ꝛ dī far̃ aueñ ꝛ val . xvj s viij đ.

Iť de Fabris iiij[or] c[a]nnoc̃ far̃ ordei vał .v. s iiij đ.

Iť de eisđ villañ iij c[a]nnoc̃ aueñ . ad ꝑb̃ . palefr̃ Reg̃ xij đ . ꝑc̃ c[a]nnoc̃ iiij đ.

Iť de Liiij[or] galł de quib3 xviij falcoñ ꝛ vał . iiij s vj đ ꝑc̃ galł j đ.

Iť de exeuñ villanoꝝ . iij s iiij đ.

Iť ꝑdc̃i villani debēt inuenir̃ . CC .xl. eq[o]s cū tot hōibꝫ ad ħcianđ ꝛ vał xxx. s ꝑc̃ opis equi j đ ꝛ hōis ob̃.

Iť debēt Meꝏe cū CCCC . hōib3 ꝑ unū diē ꝛ vał oꝑ . xxxiij s iiij đ . Vid3 quil3 ꝑ diē .j. đ.

Iť deb̃ cariar̃ . blađ cū Lxxij hōib3 ꝛ Lxxij eq[i]s ꝑ unū diē ꝛ vał . ix s vid3 ꝑ hoĩe . ob̃ . ꝛ equo j đ.

Iť̃m deb̃nt ext[a]ere fimū cū xiiij eq[i]s ꝛ vał oꝑ . xiiij đ.

Iť deb̃ inuenir̃ đno Ignem vel xx s.

[1] So in the Record.

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Iť de st^{a}mine x ß.

Iť de eisđm de quolȝ . ħnte pŧes agnos q^{a} .v. **dabunt unū**. ꝛ vaŧ iij ß iiij đ.

Iťm de ꝑdčis villañ de quolȝ ħente **galliñ .xx. oua .xx. đ.**

Iťm de pŧitis ꝛ ꝑquiß Cuŕ xl . ß.

ßs Sm^{a} . xx lī .vj. đ.

ßs Sm^{a} toŀ istius Maħii .xxxv. lī . vj đ.

Porthamal Geythrem[1]

Đ eađ vilŧ de redđ assß . iiij lī . xviij ß iij đ q^{a}.

ßs Sm^{a} . iiij lī xviij ß iij đ q̄.

Sode-wyndrū.

Đ eađ vilŧ de redđ assß Lxix ß vj đ ō.

ßs Sm^{a} Lxix ß vj đ ō.

Srefarthen

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß xxvij ß viij đ.

Igaerwen.

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß . xij ß viij đ.

Randygadou.

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß . vij ß iiij đ.

Kaeruan.

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß .xj. ß.

Ternocet.

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß . xxiij ß iij đ ō.

Trefolwyn

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß . vj ß v đ.

Grukdowy

De eađ vilŧ de redđ assß . xxiiij ß iiij đ.

Myssoglen

De [firmaŕ] ei^{ꝰ}đ vilŧ iiij ß vj đ.

Iť de potuŕ Clxxij . hoĭm Lvij equoȝ ꝑ unū diē **ab eisđ** firmaŕ xxj ß v đ oƀ . Vidȝ ꝑ hoĭe j đ ꝛ ꝑ equo j đ ō.

Sm^{a} xxv. ß xj. đ ō.

Boteuryda

Đ redđ assß .x. đ.

Iť de eađ vilŧ .viij. galliñ viij đ.

Sm^{a} viij đ.

Denan.

Đ eađ vilŧ ꝑ potura .CCC. xxix hoĭm ꝛ C. ix eq̄ xlj ß oƀ.

Iť de eađ villa xiiij galŧ ꝛ vaŧ xiiij ß.

Sm^{a} xlij ß ij đ ō.

Heyrdesweyth.

Đ eađ vilŧ ꝑ potuŕ de CLiiij hoĭm .CC. xviij. eq̄ . iiij lī xx đ.

Đ eađ vilŧ xxx. galŧ ꝛ vaŧ xxx. đ.

Iť ꝑ arratuŕ ei^{ꝰ}đ vilŧ q̄ multū remota a Cuŕ ij ß vj đ.

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[1] Not in the copy.

Iť ꝑ aũag istius ville cū vilť p̄cedente iij s iiij d. Tref-ũweth.

Sm^{a} iiij lĩ x s.

De redd̄ assš ei^{o}d̄ ville iij s iiij d.

Iť ꝑ potura . CClxxvij hoĩm ꝛ canū xxiij s j d.

Sm^{a} . xxvj s v d.

Đ redd̄ assš ei^{o}d̄ viij s vj d. Skeyokꝯ

Iť ꝑ potuĩ de D ꝛ iiij hoĩm ꝛ C. lxviij eq̄ . Lxiij s̄.

Iť de xiiij galliñ xiiij d.

Iťm de istis vj. vilť ꝑ M^{o}ionitħ xiij s iiij d.

Iť de teñ de Skyuiokꝯ de redd̄ assš . vij d.

Iť .ij. c^{a}nnoc̃ fr̃i . ij c^{a}nnoc̃ faĩ aueñ ij c^{a}nnoc̃ faĩ ordei ꝛ vať xj. s viij d.

Iť de terra Madyn ab Ad̄ de redd̄ vj. d.

Sm^{a} . iiij lĩ xviij s ix d.

Đ ead̄ villa de redd̄ assš .xl. s viij d. Roscolyn

Đ t^{i}bȝ hõibȝ ei^{o}d̄ ville de redd̄ assš . ij s vj d. Crefs-caweyn.[1]

Đ ead̄ vilť vj c^{a}nnoc̃ fr̃i . ꝛ vať xv. s. Treme-bẏon.

Iť xij c^{a}nnoc̃ braš aueñ .xij. s . p̄c̃ c^{a}nnoc̃ xij d.

Iť de uno Menš butiĩ q̄ valet iij s iiij d.

Iť .ij. c^{a}nnoc̃ faĩ ordei q̄ vať ij s viij d.

Iť .ij c^{a}nnoc̃ aueñ xvj. d.

Iť .ij. Multoñ ꝛ vať xvj. d.

Iť xvj galť xvj d.

Iť de exheuñ tam de butiĩ q^{a} ouis xvj d.

Iť de Đd Gotħ de Trefynan j buš fr̃i ꝛ vať vij d ō ꝛ uno buš faĩ ordei ꝛ vať iiij d.

Iť ꝑ pte dc̃i Đd . exheuñ iij d.

Iť de eod̄ de M^{o}ionnitħ .ij. d.

Iť de quolȝ ħente pŧes agnos q^{a} .v. unū agnū ꝛ estimant^{r} xx agni de quibȝ . iij s iiij d.

Sm^{a} . xliij s.

Đ ead̄ vilť de fr̃o . iiij^{or} c^{a}nnoc̃ ꝛ iij buš .xj. s .x d ō. Tre-garwet

[1] Trefscaweyn in the copy.

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Iť de braš aueñ .ix. cⁿnoť . ⁊ dī ⁊ valʒ ix š vj đ.

Iťm de farina ordei una cⁿnoč ⁊ dī ⁊ valʒ ij š.

Iť de duabʒ ptibʒ uniᵒ vaš butiř ⁊ ꝯcia ꝑte unius ptis uniᵒ vaš butiř ⁊ vaŧ ij š vj đ ō qᵃ.

Iť de Multoñ xij đ ō qᵃ.

Iťm de exheuñ eiᵒđ ville xvj. đ.

Iť de aũag̃ istius vilŧ ⁊ ꝑcedenť xx đ.

Iť de quolʒ ħente pŧes agnos qᵃ .v. unū agnū de quibʒ iij š iiij đ.

Iť de Mⁿionnitħ duaʒ dčaʒ vilŧ .iij. cⁿnoč fŕi . iiijᵒʳ cⁿnoč fař ordei iiijᵒʳ crannoč fař aueñ ⁊ valent xxiij š iiij đ.

Iťm de Albo vj š viij đ.

Iť de Lalwarchvoyl .v. š.

Iť de eađ vilŧ j Crannoč aueñ ad ꝑb̃ . ⁊ valʒ viij đ.

Iťm de ꝑtectionibʒ Rꝭ xix š iiij đ.

Iťm de pquiš Cuř xl. š.

Smᵃ .vj. lī .viij. š .iiij đ.

Smᵃ toŧ istius Cōmoti ꝑt maneř .xxxix. lī .xj. đ.

Tⁿra Eꝑi in Cantrede.

Đ vilŧ de Bodeyhan de redđ ašš xiiij š iiij đ.

šs Smᵃ . xiiij š iiij đ.

Đ vilŧ Ioħ Maphython de redđ ašš conš ⁊ aliis ꝯuič xxxix š . ix đ ō.

šs Smᵃ xxxix š . ix đ ō.

šs Smᵃ totaŧ terř Eꝑi . Liiij š j. đ ob̃.

De quibʒ allocantʳ vič .L. š . ꝑ cartā Reg̃ qᵃm Eꝑs ostendit.

Iⁿra Abb̃ de Conewey.

De iiijᵒʳ carucať terř in Manⁿio de Cornuchles ꝑč caruč xxvj š viij đ.

šs Smᵃ Cvj š viij đ.

Đ uno Molenđ fracto de quo nŧ . de pastʳa xx š . de redđ ašš liboʒ teñ iiij lī . x š . viij đ . de villañ eiᵒđ ville de redđ v. š.

Iť ꝑ potuř ⁊ aliis conš ⁊ ꝯuič . Liiij š iiij đ.

šs Smᵃ viij lī x š.

Tursemon q̃ est hamelett^{9} ꝑtinens ad Gerneweles cū hameleť de Westdrewy de redđ assꝫ istoꝝ hameleť Cxvj ꝫ ix đ.

ꝫs Sm^{a} C .xvj. ꝫ .ix. đ.

Đ T^{r})bonmaylokɋ de ꝟra Abb̃ . de redđ assꝫ ꝯ aliis consꝫ ꝯ ꝟuič . ei^{9}đ .xxxv. ꝫ.

ꝫs Sm^{a} .xxxv. ꝫ.

ꝫs Sm^{a} to^{t} terr̃ Abb̃ .xxj. lī .viij ꝫ v. đ.

ꝫs Sm^{a} totał dče extente .CCCC^{xx} iiij .iij. lī .x. ꝫ .xj. đ . q^{a}.

Terre contente in extenta collate diu̇sis hoībꝫ ꝑ Cartas Rɋ . post confeccõem extente ꝟdče . De quibꝫ vič nō debet oñari in comꝑ suo supꝑ contentis in eađm extenta. Videłt.

Đ villať de Bodeyhan ꝯ Joh̃ Maphython que extenduntr ad . Liiij ꝫ .j. đ . ob̃ quas Eps Bangoŕ tenet ꝑ cartā . Rɋ . L. ꝫ imppm.

Đ Mañio de Cornuthles cū Hameleť de Tursemon ꝯ Westdrewy ꝯ T^{r})lonmaylokɋ que Abbas ꝯ cōuent^{9} de Conewey tenent ꝑ cartam Rɋ .xxj. lī .viij. ꝫ .v. đ . imꝑpeťm.

Sm^{a} to^{t} .xxiij lī xviij ꝫ v đ.

Đ villa de Nantmauŕ q^{a}m Tudeŕ Vach^{a}n tenet ꝑ cartam Rɋ ad ꝟminū vite iꝑi^{9} Tuderi ꝯ Resi filii sui .vj. lī .xij ꝫ v đ. —ad ꝟīm vite . Et me^{d} q̃d ista sūma ꝑx̄ ꝟcedēs alloč vič in decasu ⁊ ut pꝫ in dorso ro^{t} ꝙpoť vič.

Sm^{a} xxiij. lī .xviij. ꝫ .v. đ. Qui debnt ꝫbt^{a}hi de Sm^{a} to^{t} extēte q^{o}ad vič.

Et eciam .xxiiij. lī .x ꝫ de pł̄it ꝯ ꝑquiꝫ que continentr in eađm extenta in diu̇sis cōmotɋ ꝑ eo q̃d iđm vič respond iude siml cū increm̃to in pł̄it ꝯ ꝑquiꝫ tociꝰ Com̃ ꝑ diu̇sas ꝑticulas ext^{a} extentam.*

* Et sic dꝫ vič oñaŕ de cōtentɋ in exť de claŕ de . CCCC . xxx . v. lī .ij. ꝫ .vj. đ q^{a} . ꝑb̃ . Eo q̃d Sm^{a} subseq̃ns de pł̄is ꝯ ꝑquiꝫ subt^{a}hitur sicut ꝟre collať ut sup^{a}.[1]

[1] Not in the copy.

App. A a.

A.D. 1294.

[On the dorse of the Roll.]

Escaete In Cantred de Abfrau temp̃ d̃ni Edwardi P'ncip̃ Walt.

Escaeta. Wilts ap Daniel qui tenuit .xxx. acras tre cū ptinenc̃ in Abfrau ad minū vite sue de d̃no Leweliñ q°ndā P'nc̃ Walt obiit tio sci Mich anno P'nc̃ P'nc̃ . Ec . ij° . Per cui⁹ mortē Henr̃ de Dynintoñ tūc vic̃ seisiuit trā pdcam in manū d̃ni P'nc̃ tanq̄ escaetā . t pdca escaeta valet p annū p extentā fcam p ip̃m vic̃ . xl d̃ . Unde vic̃ eiusd̃m Com̃ debet respondere annuatī sup comp̃ suū ad Sc^a^cm ap Caern̄.

Sm^a^ .xl. d̃.

Escaeta. Dauid ap Llewelin qui tenuit villam de Thlallybion cū ptiñ in Cantr̃ de Aberfrau ad voluntatē d̃ni Reg̃ p libacoem d̃ni . I . de Hadinggc post guerram Maddoci ap Lewelyn obiit mense Augusti Anno P'ncipat⁹ . Ec . P'nc̃ sc̃do . Post cui⁹ mortē Wenthliana ux̃ eiusd̃m Dd t Lewelin⁹ filius eoz iniuste occupauerūt pdcam villā usq; mensem Septembr̃ anno P'ncipat⁹ Ec P'nc̃ iij quo mense pdcus Lewelin⁹ obiit tempe Walti de Wyntoñ vic̃ Angles que debuit fuisse escaeta d̃ni P'nc̃ post mortē dci Dd. Et hoc pcepto: Henr̃ de Dynigtoñ vic̃ qui recepit pdcam villam in manū P'nc̃ tanq^a^m escaetā suam. Et valet pdca villa p annū in oib3 exitib3 .vij. lī .xj. s̄ .iiij. d̃. Unde vic̃ eiusd̃ Com̃ debet respond̃e annuatī sup comp̃ suū ad Sc^a^cm apd̃ Caern̄.

Sm^a^ .vij. lī .xj. s̄ .iiij. d̃.

Escaeta. Lewelin⁹ Voyl ap Griff ap Gogan qui tenuit villā de Kenleuyokc cū Hamelettis de [Keyru][1] t Kilgwyn ad tim vite sue de dono d̃ni Ec . illust'is Reg̃ Angl̃ filio per Cartā ip̃ius Reg̃ . obiit . iiij° die Apl̃ anno P'nc̃ P'nc̃ . Ec . v° . p cui⁹ mortē Henr̃ de Dyninton tūc vic̃ seisiuit pdcam villā cū Hamelettis in manū d̃ni P'nc̃ tanq̄ escaetā . Et pdca villa cū Hamelettis valet p annū p extentā fcam per ip̃m vic̃ .xij. lī .xviij. s̄ .xj. d̃.

[1] Supplied from the copy.

Sm^{a} xij. lĩ .xviij. ß .xj. đ.[1]

Đ ȳra Ioȝ Duy ap Dauid in villa de Trebaddokȩ qui inȳfecit Dauid p̃rem suū Mense Maii a^{o} P^{i}nciꝑ đni E . P^{i}nc̃ quarto que extendit^{r} ꝑ vic̃ ad tres solid . Unde vic̃ debet respondeř annuatī ßr ꝯp̃.

Sm^{a} . iij ß.

Đ Candalo ap Thom̃ ꝛ Keñ ap Thomas de quodam annuo redditu aduocarie concelato ꝛ recupato coram W . de de Suttoñ Iustic̃ in anno P^{i}ncipat^{9} đni Eȩ P^{i}nc̃ iiij^{to} . unde vic̃ . deb̃ oñari ꝛ c̃ . dī q^{a}rt̃ frm̃i . ꝑc̃ ij. ß .vj. đ.

Sm^{a} .ij. ß .vj. đ.

Đ Madđ Vaghan . de Rosmanakȩ ꝑ quođ añuo redđ concelato ꝛ recupato coram ꝑfato Iustic̃ in anno iiij^{to} ꝑdc̃o unde vic̃ deb̃ oñari ꝛ c̃—xvj. đ . ob̃.

Sm^{a} xvj. đ . ob̃.

Đ xiiij bouatis ȳre arrabit̄ una domo . uno p^{a}to . una ꝑte t^{r}barie dc̃o teñ spectante que fuer̃t . Madđ ap Idewal in Pentraytħ et que ßt in manu P^{i}nc̃ ꝑ excaetam . et que extendunt^{r} ꝑ H . de Dynyntoñ vic̃ ad xvj. ß .iiij. đ in anno ꝛ c̃ q^{i}nto . de quib; debēt ßbtrai .v. ß . pro redđ annuo eiusđm teñ contenť in extenta Com̃ . et deb̃ vic̃ oñari in compoto suo de xj. ß .iiij. đ . de residuo dc̃e extente una cū appwamēto.

Sm^{a}—xj. ß .iiij. đ.

Sm^{a} to^{t}—xxj. lĩ .xj. ß .ix. đ . ob̃.

[2] Hee sunt ꝑcuracōnes ꝛ ßuicia hĩm Manerii de Penros in Cōmoto de T^{r}keł ubi inuenti fũnt .xij. Gauelli cū dimid t̃ꝑe q^{o} villa extentata fuit.

Et de dc̃a ȳra . gauellus soluebat . xx^{ti} . q^{i}nꝗ hoīes ꝑ unū diem ad secanđ blada ꝑ sex septimanas t̃ꝑe autūpnali.

Et de q^{i}nꝗ aliis acris .vꝝ . hoīes ꝑ unū diē ut sup^{a}.

It̄ de om̄ib; ilł Gauellis soluebant q^{i}nq^{a}ginta eq^{o}s cū tot garcōib; ad carianđ blada eođm t̃ꝑe ꝑ unū diem.

[1] The copy ends here.

[2] On a parchment schedule sewed on to the end of the Roll.

App. A a. A.D. 1294.

Iť .lx. eq°s ꝑ unū diem ad herciand ꝟras Pᵗnciꝑ cū tot garcõibꝫ t̄ꝑe ꝟnali.

Iť .x. eq°s sine garcõibꝫ ad fimand ꝟras cᵗca Pascha.

Iť .xx. eq°s ad herciand fruñta ordea fabas et pisa ac siligines sine garcõibꝫ ꝟ hoc ꝑ unū diem.

Iť ꝑ ꝑcʳacõe uniᵖ eqᵗ ī hyeme ꝟ vere unā ꝟnocā Lewelini qᵃlibꝫ septimana cum straminibꝫ ꝟ victualibus ꝑ Garc̃one.

Iť in autūpno victualia ꝑ Garc̃one sine eq° . ī estate nicꝭ.

Iť ꝑcʳacõ̃es .xx. eq°ꝫ et tot equ°ꝫ ꝑ unū diē ꝟ noctē t̄ꝑe hyemali . Et . xxᵗⁱ . melioribꝫ eqᵗs de illis ꝑ sex ī die unam ꝟnocā Lewelini ꝟ õibꝫ . viij . de illis aliis palefredis unam ꝟnocā.

Iť in vere ꝑ octuagīta eqᵗs ꝑcuracõnes ut supra ꝑ aliis.

Iť in estatē ꝑ .lx. valetis ꝑcʳacões sine eqᵗs ꝟ totidē in autūpno.

Iť ꝑ igne ad opᵖ đni Pᵗnciꝑ de glebario suo soluebant ꝑ tres vices ī aduētu ipiᵖ videlicꝫ autūpno Hyeme ꝟ ꝟe ꝑ unᵃq̄ vice cētū tᵃssas de glebis ꝟ tūc isti hoīes habebant unū glebariū liꝺe ꝟ iāduđ exᵃctū est ab eis ilꝺ.

Iť ꝑ qᵒlibꝫ Gauello qᵒlibꝫ t̄ꝑe anni duas tᵃssas stᵃminum ad opus bettoꝫ.

Iť de unoq̄° gauello .xiiij. đ ꝑ annū.

Iť de õibꝫ gauellis .xv. galones butiri ꝑ annū.

Iť extra gauellos ꝭt .vj. acre ꝟ ꝑ qᵃlibꝫ illaꝫ solũnt ꝑ annū .xij. đ.

Iť de õibꝫ gauellis .xxviij. galīas.

Iť ī eađm villa ꝭt .vj. gauelli de qᵗbꝫ dñs haꝺet reddit ᵖ pᶜunarios cū fruñto . videlicꝫ de Gauello Bledyn Grachais.

Iť de Gauello Ade ap Madauc .vij. soł .viij. đ.

Iť de dimiđ gauelli Madoci Capellani .xl. đ.

Iť de gauello Philip Sayr .vij. soliđ.

Iť de ꝟra Gemllin Portarii .ij. ꝭ .vj. đ.

Iť de gauello fabᵒꝫ .vj. ꝟnocas fruñti de cᵃnoca Lewelini.

Itē de Gauello Philippi Capellani .iij. c̃noc̃ cū dimid̄a de eađ m̃sura. App. A a. A.D. 1294.

Itē de eođ .xx^ti^. đ .vj. galones butiri . duos . agnos .lx. oua ⁊ hoc p̄ ānū.

Itē de dimiđ gauelli Adam ap Byndelw .v. s̄ .iij. đ.

Itē cōitas toti⁹ ville soluet p̄ annū . xxx c̃nocas de c̃nocis Lewelini ad plus . videlicet t̃ciā ptē frum̃ti ⁊ aliam t̃ciā farine auenaē ⁊ t̃ciā ptē farin̄ ordeacee ⁊ aliqªndo dn̄s fac̃et eis gªciam q̃d nō pet̃et ab ip̄is nisi .xx. cªnoc̃.

Itē p̄ maronia lactis p̄dc̄e ville ī estate ⁊ autūpno dimiđ toti⁹ lactis dicioris hōis de villa ⁊ illđ aliqªndo ēet fructē .iiij. vaccaꝝ ⁊ aliqªndo duaꝝ ille vacce ī festo oīm sc̄oꝝ redirēt ad suū possessorē.

APPENDIX A b.

SHERIFF'S ACCOUNT OF ABERFFRAW AND PENROS, 30 EDW. I., A.D. 1302.

Chapter House Miscellanea $\frac{6\,6}{8}$, *Public Record Office.*[1]

APP. A b. A.D. 1302.

Compot^{9} Walteri de Wyntoñ Vič Angleš a festo sancti Michis anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo nono usq$_{\text{ꝫ}}$ festum sči Michis anno regni Regis predči t^{i}cesimo.

. . . . . .

Aberfrau.

šs Maneriū de Aberfrau.

Idem respondet de fir^{a} đnico$_{\text{ꝛ}}$ eiusđm Maneř
Corsodelen ꝯ T^{e}fcastel ꝑ anñ . . vij. lī .x. š

Đnicꝛ. Đ redđ ašš liḃe tenč eiusdem Maneř ꝑ idem temp^{9} . . . . . xxxij. š x. đ.

Đ redđ ašš villano$_{\text{ꝛ}}$ M')dredi eiusdem Maneř . ꝑ idem temp^{9} . . . . . xx. lī .iij. š . ō q^{a}.

Molenđ. Đ fir^{a} .iij. Molendīo$_{\text{ꝛ}}$ ibidem ꝑ idem temp^{9} viij. lī.

Portař. Đ fir^{a} Portař eiusdem Maneř ꝑ idem temp^{9} xiij. š .iiij. đ

Sm^{a} totał dči Maneř .xxxvij. lī .xix. š ·ij. đ . ō . q^{a}.

. . . . . .

Turkelyn.

šs Maneř de Penros.

Idem respondet de redđ villano$_{\text{ꝛ}}$ M')dredi de Penros . per anñ . . . . xvj. lī .xxiij. đ.

Đ fir^{a} .iiij. Carucař terř đnico$_{\text{ꝛ}}$ eiusdem Maneř ꝑ idem temp^{9} . . . . C. š.

Đ fir^{a} .iij. Molendīo$_{\text{ꝛ}}$ eiusdem Maneř ꝑ idem temp^{9} . . . . . x. lī.

Đ fir^{a} Portař eiusdem Maneř . per idem temp^{9}. . . . . xiij. š .iiij. đ.

Sm^{a} totał istius Maneř .xxxj. lī .xv. š .iij. đ.

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[1] Now Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1227, No. 8.

APPENDIX A c.

PETITION OF THE VILLANI OF PENROS AND INQUISITIONS AS TO THEIR CUSTOMS AND SERVICES, 16 EDW. II., A.D. 1322.

Inquisition Ad Quod Damnum, 16 *Edw. II.*, *No.* 40, *Public Record Office.*

A ñre seignr le Roi ꝺ a son counseil monstrent ses poures vileins de son Maner de Penros en le Countee Dangleseye en Northgales q̃ come eaux par errou del estente du dit Maner soient nounduement chargez ꝑ an de .xxj. lĩ .vj. ꝺ. ultre leur due rente ꝺ acostumee auxi come de rente assese des queux deñs unq̃s le dit seignr ne nul seignr de celes ꝑties auaunt le conqueste ne peus nestoit ne ne deuoit ꝑ resoun estre ꝟuy, ꝺ mesmes ceaux vileins a leur peticioun nadguers sr ceo baille en ꝑlement ꝑ auisement ñre dit seignr ꝺ son counseil eussent briefꝯ de la Chauncelerie a monš Esmon Counte Darundel Iustice de Gales a enquerre de cel errour ꝟ ꝺ li ꝺ son dit counseil sr ceo ctifier ꝑ ses ꝑres ꝟ ꝺ puis aꝑs pˡse sr ceo ꝑ la dite Iustice diligente enqueste en forme de lei ꝺ retrne duement en la dite Chauncelerie ꝑ la quele piert pleinement qil sunt de les ditz deñs ꝑ an chargez countre resoun ꝟ eaux ꝑ enchesoun de la morꝛ̇ne le leur bestes ꝺ de leur aler nadguers peus la prise de cele enqueste en .e ꝟuiz ñre dit Seignr countre ses enemẏs ꝺ rebeaux en diuers liens ount taunt este empoueriz qil ne ount mẏe este de poair de trouer les coustages a seure sr ceo remedie, dount le Chaumbrelein de Caernaruan ꝺ le Viscounte Dangleseẏe leur fount pr ceaux deñs destreindre greuosement pr tut leurs temps, issint q̃ si ñre dit seignr ꝺ son counseil ne voillent a ceste foiz sr ceo

A.D. 1322.

APP. A c. A.D. 1322.

ordener remedie ꝟ il leur couient lesser leurs ℔res ⁊ tenementz ꝟ ⁊ aler mendinauntz pr toutz iours saunz releuer . ℙ quoi il prient au dit seignr ⁊ a son conseil pr Dieu q̃ eaux quise la dite enqueste ⁊ examinee ꝟ voillent ordener qil soient deschargez de ceaux deñs p an pr le temps passe ⁊ a venir ꝟ ou qil leur plaise comaunder brief de la Chauncelerie a la dite Iustice ou a son lieu tenaunt en Northgales a estendre le dit Maner oue les apprtenaunces de nouel ꝟ issint qil peussent sr ceo estre mẏs a leur ꝺtein des ore en auaunt ꝟ ⁊ q̃ eaux ne soient mais en tiele mañe greuez ne tꝰuaillez ꝟ ⁊ q̃ leur destresces soient pr le ꝑfit du dit seignr relessez ꝟ q̃ leur gaignerẏe ⁊ leur viure ne soient arerẏz ou desaitz ꝟ ꝑ defaute de succour.

[Endorsed.]

Il semble a Counseil sil plest a Roi q̃ bon ℔reit q̃ le Maner sut de nouel estendu ꝑ bones ⁊ suffisauntz gentz, issint q̃ ñre seignr le Roi pusse sauer la ṽite del extente ⁊ comaunder outre sa volunte.

Corā Rege.

Veniat Inquiš cū peticõe coram Rege.

Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hibñ ⁊ Dux Aquiť dilc̃o ⁊ fideli suo Eđo Comiti Arundelł Iustic̃ suo Walł vel eius locū tenenti in ꝑtibȝ Northwalł salt̃m. Ex parte villanoȝ ñroȝ de Mañio ñro de Penros in Com̃ Angleš nob̃ est ostensum q̃d cū antecessores sui villani de eodem Mañio temporibȝ Principis Walł ꝑ ℔ris ⁊ teñ que iꝑi villani nunc tenent eisdem Principibȝ viginti ⁊ unam libras ⁊ sex denar̃ ꝑ oīmodis consuetudinibȝ ⁊ ꝟuiciis t̃m soluere consueuissent ac post conquestū ℔re Walł consuetudines ⁊ ꝟuicia ꝑdc̃a ad quadraginta ⁊ duas libr̃ ⁊ duodecim denarios ꝑ Ministros d̄ni Ẽ quondā Regis Angł patris [ñri] erronice extensa fuissent ac etiam supoñata . ⁊ licet ad ꝑsecucõem villanoȝ ꝑdc̃oȝ idem pater ñr nuꝑ Iustic̃ suo ℔re ꝑdc̃e ꝑ br̃e suū mandasset q̃d de errore ħito

in faciendo extentam ꝑdc̃am inquisiuisset pleni⁹ veritatem ip̃mq; p̃rem nr̃m inde ꝯtificasset ut idem pat̃er ñr dc̃is villanis iusticiam fieri fecisset in hac ꝑte : ꝑdc̃us tamen Iustic̃ ꝑmissa fac̃e non curauit, ꝑ quod dc̃i villani de viginti ⁊ una lib̃r ⁊ sex denar̃ ult[a] rectam ⁊ antiquā extentam annuatim a tempore extente ꝑdc̃e sic erronice fc̃e ad sc[a]cm nr̃m de Kaernaruan indebite onerant[r], ⁊ ꝑ eisdem viginti ⁊ una lib̃r ⁊ sex denar̃ no᷒ ad idem sc[a]cm reddend̃ g[a]uił distringunt[r] ⁊ ea occ̃one inquietant[r] min⁹ iuste in ip̃oꝝ villanoꝝ dispendiū non modicū ⁊ iacturam . Nolentes q̃d ip̃i villani indebite ꝑgrauent[r] in hac parte . Vo᷒ mandam⁹ q̃d ꝑ inquisic̃em ꝑ vos si necesse fuit inde faciend̃ ⁊ aliis viis ⁊ modis quib; poł̃itis vos pleni⁹ informetis quantū videlicet antecessores villanoꝝ ꝑdc̃oꝝ ꝑ consuetudinib; ⁊ ꝯuiciis suis ante conquestū ꝑdc̃m dederint ⁊ quo tempore extenta ꝑdc̃a fc̃a fuit ⁊ ꝑ quos ⁊ qualiť ⁊ quo modo, ⁊ utrū erronice fc̃a fuit ut ꝑdc̃m est : ꝑ quod ip̃i villani de ꝑdc̃is viginti ⁊ una lib̃r ⁊ sex denar̃ exo᷒ari debeant necne . Et cū sup̃ ꝑmissis eritis pleni⁹ informati nos de informac̃oe illa sub sigillo v̄ro distincte ⁊ apte sine dił̃one reddatis ꝯtiores hoc b̃re no᷒ remittentes ut ulł̃ius ꝑfatis villanis sup̃ ꝑmissis fieri faciam⁹ quod de consilio ñro fore viderim⁹ faciend̃ . T̃ me ip̃o apud Eboꝝ . xviij die Maii anno r̃ . ñ quintodecimo.

P peticōem de consilio.

App. A c.

A.D. 1322.

A.D. 1322.

Inquisicio facta coram Thoma de Wynnesbur̓ tenente locū d̄ni Edmundi Comitis Arundelł Iusticiar̃ Walł in North Walł apud Penros die Iouis p̃x̃ post fm̃ sc̃i Iacobi Ap̃li anno regni Reg̃ . E . filii Regis . E . sextodecimo, q[a]ntum videł antecessores villanoꝝ d̄ni Reg̃ de Manerio suo de Penros in Coñ Angleseye dederūt ꝑ consuetudinib; ⁊ seruiciis suis ante conquestū ꝓre Walł, ⁊ quo tempe facta fuit extenta eiusdem Manerii in qua consuetudines ⁊ seruicia eoꝝdem villanoꝝ post dc̃m conquestū ad quadraginta ⁊ duas libras ⁊ duo-

A.D. 1322.

APP. A c. A.D. 1322.

decim denarios sterlingoꝝ extendebantr, ꝯ ꝑ quos qualiꝫ ꝯ quo modo, ꝯ utrum eadem extenta erronice facta fuerit ꝑ quod iꝑi villani de viginti ꝯ una libr̃ ꝯ sex denariis . videlt de medietate quadraginta ꝯ duaꝝ libaꝝ ꝯ duodecim denarioꝝ in bri contenr̃ exonari debeant nec ne ꝛ ꝑ hos iur̃ . Howel Whŷthꝫ, Tud̃ ap Lewel, Howel Lippa, Lewel ap Howel, Eignon ap Ioꝝ, Madoc ap Eignon, Edeneuet ap Eignon, Ioꝝ Widel, M)dudꝫ Duŷ, Eignon Vaghan, Ioꝝ ap Philip ꝯ Madoc Vaghan. Qui dicūt supꝑ sacr̃m suū q̃d antecessores dc̃oꝝ villanoꝝ d̃ni Reg̃ de Manerio suo de Penros tempibꝫ Principū Walł ante conquestum eiusdem ꝫre soluerūt eisdem Principibꝫ annatim de redditu assīo ꝑ sex gauelł ꝯ dī ꝫre ibidem ꝛ qatuor libras, nouem solidos ꝯ qatuor denarios preter ꝫuicia ꝯ consuetudines eoꝝdem que iꝑi fecerūt ꝑ residuo ꝫraꝝ suaꝝ ibidem ꝯ qatuor carucatis ꝫre d̃nice predc̃i Manerii eisdem villanis dudū liberaī . Et dicūt q̃d predicta seruicia ꝯ consuetudines post predc̃m conquestū extendebantr ad decem ꝯ octo libras, qinqꝫ solidos, duos denarios, obolū ꝯ qadrantem, ꝯ q̃d Magister Ric̃us de Abyngdoñ clericus d̃ni Reg̃ fecit extentam predc̃oꝝ seruicioꝝ ꝯ consuetudinū ꝑ duodecī hoīes iur̃ de Com̃ Angleseỳe, que quidem extenta ita gauis ꝯ supꝑonerosa facta fuit q̃d nūqam aliquis denarios sūme in eadem extenta contente leuare potuit hucusqꝫ nec sūmam illam attingle, ꝑ viginti solidos ꝯ sex denarios annuatim . Et q̃d post extentā illam sic fc̃am ꝛ frater Lewelinus tunc Prior fr̃um Predicatoꝝ Bangor̃ qui associatus fuit predc̃o Mag̃ro Ric̃o ꝑ dc̃m d̃m Regem ad extentam predc̃am faciendam qꝫ iꝑe Magister Ric̃us eundem fr̃em Lewelinū ad extentam illam faciend̃ non expectauit ꝛ accessit ad Maneriū de Penros ꝯ fecit unam nouam extentam ꝯ illam tunc irrotulari fecit simul cū pma extenta in rotulo extente totiꝰ Com̃ Angleš . Ita q̃d ꝑ errorem extente ꝑ prefatū Lewelinū ꝯ gauitatem ꝯ supꝑoneracōem extente ꝑ predc̃m

Petition of the Villani of Penros, 1322.

Magr̃m Ric̃m fac̃ ꝯ supª dc̃i villani indebite onerati sunt de viginti ⁊ una libra ⁊ sex denariis sterlingoꝝ annuatim. APP. A c. A.D. 1322.

In cuius rei testimoniū predc̃i Howel, Tuđ, Howel, Lewel, Eignon, Madoc, Edeneuet, Ioꝝ, M⁀eduth, Eignon, Ioꝝ ⁊ Madoc sigilla sua p̄sentibꝫ apposuerūt, loco die ⁊ anno supradictis.

Cancellar̃ đni Regis Angl̃ p̄ Iustic̃ Walt̃. [Endorsed.]

Scribatr Camar̃ de Kaernar̃ q̃d pat . p̄dic̃ demandam quā fac̃ villani Regis de Penros de xxj. lī .vj. đ ultª antiquā extentā . . . . . oꝝ usq; in crastino Purificacōis b̄e Marie . Et inꝑim scrutat extentas de qbꝫ inquisicio facit mencōem ⁊ inde c̄tificet Thes̄ ⁊ Baroñ de Scacio ad diē p̄dc̃m.

APPENDIX A d.

COURT ROLL OF ABERFFRAW, 20 EDW. III., A.D. 1346.

APP. A d.

Court Rolls, Bundle 215, *No.* 13, *Public Record Office.*

[20 Edw. III. A.D. 1346.]

Magnus Turnus Cōmoti de Maltᵃith tenť apd Crucanel die Veñis px̃ post fm Decolacōis sc̃i Ioħis Bapte . anno . r̃r̃ . Ē . xxᵒ.

* * *

Aƀfrau.

nicħ
Atha Loit qꝑ . ve . loco qⁱnqꝑ iuř.

\+ v. s̃
Villata qꝑ nō . ve . ad iuř . Et postea ve . ad p̃s q̃d Rees ap Madyn Esspyn qui attacħ fuit qꝑ fregit pacem in Nundť ꝯ tᵃxit sanḡ de Laurence fregit pⁱsonā ꝯ euasit a custoď portař ꝯ fugit.

\+ \+
Raḡ ꝯ Portař qꝑ . nō ħueř attacħ . Iō in m̃a.

\+ vj ď \+ vj. ď xij ď vj. ď
Ioẓ . Eigñ filii Meurᶜ ap Iockᵭ Ieuᵃn ap Teḡ . Ieuᵃn ap Teḡ ap Itħ vocati nō ve . ad tʳnū.

iiij. s̃
Villata ꝑ .iiij. conceť in mᵃ.

* * *

[12 Sept. A.D. 1346.]

Magnᵒ tʳnᵒ Cōmoti de Turkelyn tenť apd Lanuol die Martis px̃ ante fm Nať ƀe Mař anno r̃r̃ . xxᵒ.

* * *

Penros.

\+
De villata qꝑ ptʳbat Cuř.

ij. s̃
P᷑s q̃d Ðd ap Itħ tᵃxit sanḡ de Lowargħ Duy.

APP. A d.

A.D. 1346.

ca' in carcere
Et q̃d Eigñ Gogħ Soykɇ feloñ fuŕ fuit unū rete ꝑcii iiij. đ de Ieu^n ap Deykɇ.

Cōꝑtū est q̃d villata fŕ defeñ eo q̃d nō soł ꝑpartē ꝑcii equoꝝ cariag̃ excc̄it^.

ij. s̃
Villata ꝑ conceł.

Cōꝑtū est q̃d Atha Ioꝝ ꝯ Đd filii Eigñ Gogħ Crethe deƀent esse aduoc̃ Princ̃ et . ŕ . se ꝯ sedent supꝑ ꝯram Eꝑi apd Thlanderadokɇ.

APPENDIX A e.

EXTENT OF ABERFFRAW WITH ITS HAMLETS, 13 EDW. III., A.D. 1339.

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem, 13 *Edward III.* (*2nd nrs.*) *No.* 58, *Public Record Office.*

APP. A e. A.D. 1339.

Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hibñ ⁊ Dux Aquit̃ Iustic̃ suo Northwalł vel eius locū tenenti ibidem . salt̃m . Quia quibusdam ꝯtis de causis ꝯtiorari volumus sup̄ vero valore Mañii de Aberfrawe cum p̄tiñ in Northwalł . exceptis una carucata t̃re ⁊ dimid in eodem Mañio que dilc̃us nob̄ Magr̃ Rog̃us de Heytoñ Surigicus ñr tenet ad t̃minū vite sue ex concessione ñra . quantum videłt valeat p̄ annū una cū dn̄icis . homagiis . ꝯuiciis . redditibꝫ . ac aliis exitibꝫ t̃re iuxta verum valorem eiusdem . Vob̄ mandamus q̃d p̄ sac̃m p̄boꝝ et leg̃ hoīm de balliua v̄ra p̄ quos rei v̄itas melius sciri potł mañium p̄dc̃m . exceptis dc̃is carucata t̃re ⁊ dimid . in forma p̄dc̃a diligenł extendi fac̃ et extentam illam distincte ⁊ apte fc̃am nob̄ in Cancellar̃ ñram sub sigillo v̄ro ⁊ sigillis eoꝝ p̄ quos fc̃a fūit sine dilōne mittatis ⁊ hoc b̄re . T̃ . Edwardo Duce Cornub̄ ⁊ Comite Cestr̃ fił ñro carissimo . Custode Angł apud Kenyngtoñ .xx. die Febr̃ . anno . r̃ . ñ . ꝯciodecimo.

P̄ b̄re de priuat̃ sigilł.

[Endorsed.]

Execuc̃o istius b̄r̃[is] patet in extenta huic b̄ri cōsuta.

Extenta Manerii de Aberfrau in Northwalł, facta apud Caerñ die Sabb̄ti p̄x̃ post festum sc̃i Gregorii anno . r̃ . Rꝯ . Ẽ . ꝯcii post conquestum ꝯciodecimo coram Wiłmo de Shaldeforde locum tenente dn̄i Ric̃i Comitis Arundelł Iustic̃ dn̄i

Regis in Northwalł . virtute cuiusdam bꝛ̄is eisdem [1] Iustic̃ vl eius locū tenenti de Cancellaꝛ̄ Angł directi ꝟ ꝑ sacr̃m Kenewric ap Griffuth̄ . Ienaf ap Yereward . Griffuth̄ ap Dauid Vagh^{a}n . Howeli ap Lewelī, Griffuth̄ ap Dauid Gethyn . Ieuan ap Howel . Eignon Terrioc . Edeneuet Gogh . Howel ap Dauid ap Roppert . Ieuan ap Phelip . Blethyn ap Madoc . ꝛ Kenewric ap Eignon de Coñ Angleꝭ—Qui dicunt suꝑ sacr̃m suū q̃d sunt in Manerio de Aberfrau sunt q^{i}nq; carucate terre . De quibꝫ Magisꝛ Rog)us de Heytone tenet unam carucatam ꝛre ꝛ dimid . et ꝭ . . . . . ꝛre ꝛ dī . que valent ꝑ annū .Cv. ꝭ . videłt quełt carucata .xxx. ꝭ—Item dic̃ q̃d sunt ibidem . iij . Molend que valent ꝑ annū .ix. lī—Item . . . . ꝑ annū .xiij. ꝭ .iiij. d . Iī .j. piscaria que valet .ij. ꝭ.—Item de redditu libere tenentiū ibidem xxix. ꝭ .viij. d—Iī de redditu tenentiū de Bodeueuꝛ̄ ptiñ eidem Manerio .xv. ꝭ .xj. d. —Item de redditu liꝺe tenentiū de Hameletto de Trewaspat^{i}kꝙ .x. ꝭ.—Item de villanis eiusdem ville de Tunkꝙ v. ꝭ .vj. d— Item de eisdem villanis ꝑ farina, butiro, lacte ꝛ opac̃onibꝫ xiij. ꝭ .vij. d . oꝺ—Item de Hameletto de Trefberwyth̄ huic Manerio annexo de redditu assiso ij villanoꝝ .ix. ꝭ .viij. d. Item de . iiij^{or} cronocis farine ordei .v. ꝭ .iiij. d.—Iī de m̃ltonibꝫ .iiij. ꝭ .vj. d.—Item de .ix. agnis xviij. d—Iī de eisdem villanis ꝑ butiro .ij. ꝭ .iiij. d.—Item de Ciiij^{xx}. ouis .vij. d.—Iī de .ix. gallinis .ix. d.—Iī de dc̃is .ix. hom̃ibꝫ ꝑ opac̃onibꝫ de .Clxj. diei .xxxvj. ꝭ .ij. d . oꝺ.

Sm^{a} .xxj. lī .xv. ꝭ .xj. d.

Hamelettum de Dynthlodan eidem Manerio de Aberfrau annexū . Ð redditu assiso .j. villani ibidem .ij. ꝭ. Videłt de Dauid de Hiꝺnico ꝑ medietate blad ꝛ lac̃ quod . . . . M)aonnyth̄—Item de filiis Gregorii ap Lewelyn ꝑ .j. cronoko fr̃i ꝛ . iiij^{or} cronocis farine aueñ ꝟ viij. ꝭ .vj. d. De eisdem ꝑ .iij. multonibꝫ .xij. d. De eisdem . . . De eisdem ꝑ Butiro .vj. d.—

[1] So in the Record.

APP. A e. A.D. 1339.

De eisdem ꝑ .xl. ouis .j. đ . oƀ—De eisdem ꝑ. vj. gallinis .vj. đ. De eisdem ꝑ opaƈonibꝫ .xxx. dierū .iij. ꝫ .ix. đ . De Pelipaſ ꝑ dī . . . cronoci farine ordei . medietate .j. mꝛltonis . medieť .j. agñi . ꝑ .x Cunnis butiſ ꝛt ꝑ medietať .j. galline .xiij. đ . oƀ. De opaƈonibꝫ eoꝝdem vij dieꝝ .xj. đ qª.

Smª—xviij. ꝫ .ix. đ qª.

Hameletť de Keuyntreffrau eidem Manerio annexū . De redditu villanoꝝ eiusdem ville .iij. ꝫ .iiij. đ . De eisdem ꝑ .j. agno ꝛt dī . ꝑ butiſ . De . . . . . gallinis ꝛt dī . ꝑ Estor blađ . de opaƈonibꝫ .iij. dieꝝ xviij. đ . oƀ . Et respondent de Mꝛ)ionytħ cum villanis de Tref berwytħ.

Smª—iiij. ꝫ .x. đ . oƀ.

Villani de Aberfrau . De redditu assiso dƈoꝝ villanoꝝ .viij. ꝫ .viij. đ . De eisdem de .x. cronoƈ ꝛt dī ffi . De .vij. cronoƈ farine aueñ, et de . . . . . xlviij. ꝫ .vij. đ . De .ix. villanis eiusdem ville ꝑ lacte .iiijᵒʳ. vaƈ̄ .iiijᵒʳ mꝛltoñ ꝛt dī .ix. agñ . Butiſ .Cxl. ouis ꝛt .xxvij. gallinis .xvj. ꝫ . . . . . tribꝫ mꝛltonibꝫ .vj. agnis . ix. gallinis . butiſ ꝛt .C. ouis v. ꝫ .j. đ— Item sunt in dƈa villa .ix. villani . De quibꝫ .xxvij. gallinis .ij. ꝫ . . . đ . . . . . iij. dieꝝ ad serclanđ blađ .ij. ꝫ .iij. đ . ꝙ quiłt eoꝝ recepit ꝑ diem .j. prandium—De eisdem villanis ꝑ igne ꝛt stramīe in Cuſ đni . . . . . in autumpno de .CCC. hoñibꝫ . quos xvj. villani de Manerio de Aberfrau inuenient . Et de .iiij. xx hoñibꝫ quos villani forinceci de Cantredo [invenient.] De hoñibꝫ ꝛt equis ad herđanđ ꝑ .j. diem .Lxxv. ꝫ . caꝑ ꝑ diem .j. đ . oƀ.—Item de dƈis villanis de Aberfrau ꝑ .x. cronocis . . . . . De pastʳa .xx. ꝫ . De ꝙquisiť Cuſ .xl. ꝫ.

Smª .xvj. lī .xviij. đ.

Smª toł .xxxix. ł .xij. đ . oƀ . qª.

In cuiᵒ rei testimoniū ꝑdƈi Iuſ huic [ext]en[te] sigilla sua apposuerunt.

Dať apud Caerñ die ꝛt anno supªdƈis.

APPENDIX A f.

ASSESSMENT TO A FIFTEENTH OF ABERFFRAW WITH ITS HAMLETS [A.D. 1320-1340].

Treasury of Receipt, Miscell. $\frac{8}{4}\frac{8}{4}$, *Public Record Office.*[1]

APP. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

Rotul^{9} taxac̃onis oĩum bonoꝝ mobiliū t̃praliū ꝯmoti Maltraeth ad . xv^{am} . ꝑtō ꝑ taxatoř videl$_3$. ꝑ Tuderū Gam ꝛ Dđ Gethyn.

I^{e} rotul^{9} ex^{r} cū nouo ꝛ noĩa cōcordant.

* * *

Villa Aƀfrau cū suis Hamletꝭ.

Ioꝝ Voel ħt in bōis taxatꝭ vid$_3$—xx. boũ . ꝑ c^{9}l$_3$ v. ʂ—xvj. vac̃ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ iij. ʂ .iiij đ .—v. eq^{o}s ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .v. ʂ .—iiij. aũia .iij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ ij. ʂ .vj. đ . iiij aũia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .ij. ʂ .xx. oues . ꝑ .ij. vac̃ . ʂ .vj. ʂ .viij. đ—xx. Cř . fru . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ ij. ʂ .vj. đ .xl. Cř . fař . aue . ꝑ c^{9}l$_3$ .ij. ʂ .—vj. Cř . piš ꝛ ord . ꝑ cui^{9}b$_3$—xvj. đ.

Dđ ap Ỳkeneỳn ħt in bo . tax .iij. bou . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .v. ʂ .ix. vac̃ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ iij. ʂ .iij. đ—vj. eq^{o}s . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .v. ʂ .—ij. aũia .iij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .ij. ʂ .vj. đ .—iij. aũia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .ij. ʂ .—xxiij oues . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .vj. đ—iij. Cř . fru . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ ij. ʂ .vj. đ—iiij. Cř . ord . ꝑ c^{9}l$_3$ xvj. đ .—xiiij. Cř . fař aue . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .ij. ʂ.

Mađ ap Dđ ħt in bo . tax̃ .iij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .iij. ʂ .iiij. đ .—j. aũiū .iij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ ij. ʂ .vj. đ—j. aũiū .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ .ij. ʂ-j. Cř . fař . ꝑ .ij. ʂ.

Eỳnō ap G̃g̃ ħt in bo . tax̃ .iij. boũ ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .v. ʂ .—j. eqū . ꝑ .v. ʂ—iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c^{9}l$_3$ .iij. ʂ .iiij. đ .—j. Cř . fru . ꝑ .ij. ʂ .vj. đ .—ij. Cř . fař . aue . ꝑ c^{9}l$_3$ .ij. ʂ.

[1] Now Lay Subsidy $\frac{2}{119}\frac{4}{2}$.

App. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

Ioẏ Gocḥ ħt in bo . taẍ .iij. boũ . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .v. ß .—iij eq°s ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .v. ß .—iij. vaĉ ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .iij. ß .iiij. đ .—xij. oues . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ vj. đ .—ij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß .vj. đ .—vj. Cr̃ . faṽ . aue . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß .—ij. aũia .ij. ānoẏ ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß.

S[a] .iiij. ß .v. đ. ob.

Uẍ G̃g̃ ap Kyff ħt in bo . taẍ .j. bou . ꝑ .v. ß.—j. iuṁtū . ꝑ .v. ß .—j. aũiū .iij. ānoẏ . ꝑ .ij. ß. vj. đ .—j. aũiū .ij. ānoẏ . ꝑ .ij. ß .—ij. vac . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .iij. ß .iiij. đ .—j. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .ij. ß .vj. đ .—iij. Cr̃ . faṽ . aue . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ . ij. ß.

S[a]—ij. ß.

Dđ Voel ħt ī bo . taẍ .ij. boũ ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .v. ß—j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. ß .—ij. vaĉ . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .iij. ß .iiij. đ . Di[m] . Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .xv. đ —iij. Cr̃ . faṽ . aue . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß.

S[a] .ij. ß.

Mađ ap Ygwascric ħt in bo . taẍ .ij. eq°s . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .v. ß . —j. boũ . ꝑ .v. ß .—Di[m] . Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .xv. đ—ij. Cr̃ faṽ . aue . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß.

S[a] .xvj. đ.

Eẏnō ap Iokȩ ħt in boñ taẍ . vidꝫ .xvj. boũ . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .v. ß .viij. đ .—vj. eq°s ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .v. ß .—xv. vaĉ ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .iij. ß .iiij. đ .—xij. aũia .iij. ānoẏ . ꝑ , c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß .vj. đ .—xv. oues ꝑ c⁹lꝫ . ꝑ .v. ß .—xij. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß .vj. đ .—xl. Cr̃ . faṽ . aue . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß—xij. Cr̃ . piß . ꝛ ord . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .xvj. đ.

S[a] .xxij. ß .j. đ.

Ymetyr̃ ħt in bo . taẍ .iij. boũ . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ—v. ß .—j. iuṁtū . ꝑ .v. ß—.iiij. vaĉ . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .iij. ß .iiij. đ—.j. aũiū .ij. ānoẏ . ꝑ .ij. ß—v. oues ꝑ—xx. đ—j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. ß .vj. đ .—iij. Cr̃ faṽ ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß.

S[a] iij. ß. ob.

Gwenlł f Ađ ħt in bo . tax .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. ß—j. iuṁtū ꝑ .v. ß .—ij. vaĉ ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .iij. ß .iiij. đ .—ij. aũia .ij. ānoẏ . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ—ij. ß—.j. Cr̃ . faṽ . ꝑ .ij. ß.

S[a] .xviij. đ.

Dđ ap Iokȩ ħt in bo . tax .ij. boũ . ꝑ . c⁹lꝫ .v. ß—iij. eq°s ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .v. ß .—v. vaĉ . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ iij. ß .iiij. đ —.ij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß .vj. đ—.vj. Cr̃ faṽ aue . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ .ij. ß —.j. Cr̃ ord . ꝑ .xvj. đ.

S[a] .iiij. ß.

Mađ ap Iokȩ ħt in bo . taẍ .j. bou . ꝑ .v. ß—.j. iuṁtū ꝑ .v. ß iij vaĉ ꝑ c⁹lꝫ iij. ß .iiij. đ . Di[m] Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .xv. đ—iij. Cr̃ faṽ aue . ꝑ c⁹lꝫ ij. ß.

S[a] .xxij. đ.

Pħ Amluch ħt in bo . tax .j boũ . ꝑ .v. ß—.j. iuṁtū ꝑ .v. ß

—iiij. vaĉ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ iij. ſ .iiij. đ—iij. aͫia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .ij. ſ—ix. oues . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .vj. đ—j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ—iij. Cr̃ . far . aue . ꝑ c℈l℥ .ij. ſ. APP. A f. Sª .ij. ſ .x. đ.

Dđ ap Mˀeđ ħt in bo . tax̃ .j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. ſ—ij. boũ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .v. ſ—iiij. vaĉ ꝑ . c℈l℥ .iij. ſ. iiij. đ—ij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ c℈l℥ .ij. ſ .vj. đ—.vj. Cr̃ . faf̃ aue . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .ij. ſ—.vj. oues ꝑ . c℈l℥ .vj. đ. Sª iij. ſ .iij. đ.

Sussanaf ħt in bōis tax̃ .v. vaĉ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. Sª xiij. đ. oƀ.

Dđ ap Gwasbeuno ħt in bo . tax̃ .vj. boũ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .v. ſ.—ij. eqᵘs . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .v. ſ.—v. vaĉ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ—ij. aͫia .iij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .ij ſ .vj. đ.—j. aͫiū .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ .ij. ſ.—xiiij. oues . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .vj. đ.—vj. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .ij. ſ .vj. đ—xvj. Cr̃ faf̃ aue . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .ij. ſ.—vj. Cr̃ faf̃ ord̃ ꝑ c℈l℥ .xvj. đ. Sª viij. ſ. oƀ.

Mathu ap Dđ ħt in bo . tax̃ .ij. boũ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .v. ſ.—j. iumt̃ū . ꝑ .v. ſ—ij. vaĉ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ.—di^{m} . Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .xv. đ—ij. Cr̃ . faf̃ . aue . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .ij. ſ. Sª .xxj. đ. oƀ.

Robẏn ħt in bo . tax̃ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. ſ—j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. ſ.—j. vaĉ . ꝑ .iij. ſ .iiij. d/—ij. aͫia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .ij. ſ/—j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ/—ij. Cr̃ faf̃ . aue . ꝑ . cl℈℥ .ij. ſ. Sª .xix đ. qª đ.

Eynõ ap Dđ ħt in bo . tax̃ .iiij. bou . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .v. ſ—ij. eqᵘs . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .v. ſ—iiij. vaĉ . ꝑ .j. aͫiū .iij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ.—ij. aͫia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ .ij. ſ.—vij. oues . ꝑ c℈l℥ .vj. đ.—iij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ c℈l℥ .ij. ſ .vj. đ—xij. Cr̃ . faf̃ . aue . ꝑ . c℈l℥—ij. ſ—.iij. Cr̃ . ord̃ ꝑ . c℈l℥ .xvj. đ. Sª .v. ſ .xj. đ.

Eẏnõ ap Ẏdrẏn ħt in bo . tax̃ .iiij. vaĉ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ/j. aͫiū .iij. ānoꝫ ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ .ij. aͫia .ij. anoꝫ .ij. ſ .j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ/ij. Cr̃ . faf̃ . aue . ꝑ . c℈l℥ . ij. ſ. Sª .xxj. đ.

Ioꝫ ap Ph̃ ħt ī . bo . tax̃ .j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. ſ/.ij. vaĉ . ꝑ . c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ/ij. aͫia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .ij. ſ. j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. ſ—j. Cr̃ faf̃ aue . c̃ . di° . ꝑ .iij. ſ. Sª .xvij. đ.

Ph̃ ap Ađ ħt ī bo . tax̃ .j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. ſ .iiij. vaĉ . ꝑ c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ—j. bou . ꝑ .v. ſ.—xij. oues ꝑ c℈l℥ .vj. đ .j. Cr̃ . frū . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ./ij. Cr̃ . faf̃ . aue . ꝑ c℈l℥ .ij. ſ. Sª .ij. ſ .iiij. đ. ő. qª.

Gwtanes ħt in bo . tax̃ .iiij. vaĉ . ꝑ .c℈l℥ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. / ij. Sª xxiij. đ.

App. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

iuñta . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .v. s .j. aḋiū .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ .ij. s.—j. Cr̃ faṽ . c̃ diº . ꝑ .iij. s.

Ykedẏn ht in bo . taẋ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s .j. iuñtū . ꝑ .v. s / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ .iij. s .iiij. đ. xiiij. oues ꝑ cᵓlʒ .vj. đ .j. Cr̃ fru ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ / j. Cr̃ . faṽ . ꝑ .ij. s.

Sª .ij. s̃ .iiij. đ.

Kediuoṽ ht ī bo . tax .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s. / iij. eqºs . ꝑ .v. s.—ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. đ . ij aḋiū .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ . ij. s. —xiij. oues ꝑ cᵓlʒ .vj. đ. / dim. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .xv. đ. / .iiij. Cr̃ faṽ aue . ꝑ. .ij. s.

Sª .iij. s̃ .vij. đ.

Yfromarth ht ī bo . taẋ .ij. iuñta . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .v. s. / iij. vac̃ ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. đ / ij. aḋia .ij. añoꝫ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .ij. s./ ij. aḋia .iij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ cᵓlʒ .ij. s .vj. đ. j Cr̃ . fru . c̃ diº . ꝑ .iij. s .ix. đ. / j. Cr̃ . c̃ diº faṽ . ꝑ .iij. s. / ij. oues . ꝑ .xij. đ.

Sª .ij. s̃ .v. đ. õ.

Ienª ap Maḋ Vichªn ht ī . bo . tax .j. iuñtū . ꝑ .v. s j. boũ ꝑ .v. s. / iiij. aḋia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .ij. s. / iij. oues ꝑ cᵓlʒ .vj. đ. j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s vj. đ. / iij. faṽ . aue . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .ij. s.

Sª .xxij. đ.

Ioṽ ap Ioke ht ī bo . taẋ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s / ij. eqºs . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .v. s./v. vac̃ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. đ. iij. aḋia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .ij. s / xv. oues ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .vj. đ. j. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ. iij. Cr̃ faṽ aue ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .ij. s.

Sª .iij. s̃ .vij. đ.

Feydath ht in bo . taẋ .j. iuñtū . ꝑ .v. s / j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s. v. vac̃ . ꝑ cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. đ. / iij. aḋia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .ij. s .xxiij. oues . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .vj. đ. iij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ cᵓlʒ .ij. s .vj. đ. / iiij. Cr̃ faṽ aue . ꝑ cᵓlʒ .ij. s.

Smª .iiij. s̃.

Ioꝫ ap Bleḋ ht in bo . taẋ .j. iuñtū ꝑ .v. s. ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. đ .iij. aḋia .ij. ānoꝫ ꝑ cᵓlʒ .ij. s. j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ.

Sª.xvj. đ.

Maḋ ap Bleḋ ht ī bo . taẋ .j. iuñtū ꝑ .v. s. / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. đ . j. aḋiū .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ .ij. s. dim. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .xv. đ.

Sª .xij. đ.

Ykest ht ī . bo . tax .ij. boũ . ꝑ .v. s. / ij. iuñta ꝑ .v. s. / iij. vac̃ ꝑ . cᵓlʒ .iij. s .iiij. aḋia .ij. ānoꝫ ꝑ cᵓlʒ .ij. s. / xxiiij. oues . ꝑ cᵓlʒ .vj. đ. j. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ. / v. Cr̃ faṽ aue . ꝑ cᵓlʒ .ij. s.

Sª .iiij. ij. s̃ .ij. đ.

Sª .iiij. s̃ .iij. đ . õ.

Dđ ap Iokᵉ hʒ ī bo . tax .ij. eqºs . ꝑ .v. s. / ij. boũ . ꝑ .v. s /

v. vaĉ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. xxx. oues ꝑ cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. j. Cȓ fru . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ. / v. Cȓ faȓ aue . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. App. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

Ioꝝ ap Elidyȓ ħt in bo . tax .iiij. boũ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / iij. eqᵒs . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / ij. aͣlia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ.—x. oues . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. / vj. Cȓ . fru . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ .vj. đ. / .ix. Cȓ faȓ aue . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. / vj. vaĉ ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. / ij. Cȓ piſ ꝛ ord . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .xvj. đ. / uteñ . ꝑ .vj. ſ .viij. đ. Sᵃ vij. ſ j. đ.

Dđ Du ħt ī bo . taȁ .j. iuñtū . ꝑ .v. ſ / .ij. vaĉ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. / ij. boũ . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / iij. aͣlia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. / x. oues . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. / ij. Cȓ faȓ aue . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. Utĕ . ꝑ .xij. đ. Sᵃ ij. ſ .vj đ.

Mađ ap Yriskynit h₃ ī bōis taȁ .j. eqū . ꝑ .v. ſ. / iij. vaĉ . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ / .iij. Cȓ faȓ . aue . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. Uteñ ꝑ .xij. đ. Sᵃ .xvij. đ. oƀ.

Gyllabrẏdi ħt in bo . taȁ .ij. boũ . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / j. iuñtū ꝑ .v. ſ / v. vaĉ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. v. oues . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. j. Cȓ . fru . ꝑ . ij. ſ .vj. đ. j. Cȓ . ord . ꝑ .xv. đ. / iiij. Cȓ faȓ aue . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. Uteñ . ꝑ .xij. đ. Sᵃ iij. ſ j. đ. ō.

Ioꝝ ap Deikϱ ħt ī bo . taȁ .ij. bou . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / iij. iuñta . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / viij. vaĉ . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. j. aͣliū .iij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ .ij. ſ .vj. đ. / ix. oues . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. / ij. Cȓ . fru . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. vj. đ. / v. Cȓ faȓ aue . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. / j. Cȓ ord . ꝑ .xvj. đ. Sᵃ .v. ſ.

Ieᵃn Du ħt ī bo . tax .ij. vaĉ . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ / iij. aͣlia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ .v. oues . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. / j Cȓ ĉ diᵒ. faȓ . ꝑ .iij. ſ. Sᵃ .xiij. đ. oƀ.

Eynõ ap Deikϱ ħt in bo . taȁ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. ſ. / ij. iuñta . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .v. ſ. / v. vaĉ . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. j. aͣliū .iij. ānoꝝ ꝑ .ij. ſ / xlvj. oues . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. Uteñ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ / iij. Cȓ fru . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ .vj. đ. / iij. Cȓ . faȓ aue . ꝑ cᵓl₃ .ij. ſ. j. Cȓ . ord ꝑ .xvj. đ. Sᵃ .iiij. ſ .xj. đ. oƀ.

Ađ ap Eynõ ħt ī bo . tax .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. ſ. / ij. eqᵒs ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .v. ſ / viij. vaĉ ꝑ cᵓl₃ .iij. ſ .iiij. đ. L . oues . ꝑ . cᵓl₃ .vj. đ. Sᵃ .v. ſ .vj. đ.

APP. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

Uteñ . ꝑ .iij. s. / j. Cr̃ . fru . c̃ di°. ꝑ iij. s .ix. d̃ / iij. Cr̃ faṙ aue . ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s. ij. Cr̃ . ord̃ . ꝑ .xvj. d̃.

Dd̃ ap Ad̃ ħt in bo . taẋ .iij. boũ . ꝑ . c°l3 .v. s. j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. s / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃. ij. alia .iij. ānoẋ . ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s .vj. d̃ / xx. oues . ꝑ .c°l3 .vj. d̃ / Uteñ . ꝑ .xij. d̃ / ij. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ . c°l3 .ij. s .vj. d̃ / v. Cr̃ faṙ aue . ꝑ c°l3 ij. s. / ord̃ ꝑ xvj. [d̃].

S^a .iiij. s̃ .iiij. d̃. ob.

Mad̃ Cor ħt ī bo . taẋ .ij. boũ . ꝑ . c°l3 .v. s / iij. iuñta . ꝑ c°l3 .v. s. / viij. vac̃ . ꝑ c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃. / iij. alia .ij. ānoẋ . ꝑ . c°l3 .ij. s. / xliiij. oues . ꝑ . c°l3 .vj. d̃. / Uteñ . ꝑ .ij. s. j. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. d̃. / j. Cr̃ . ord̃ ꝑ .xvj. [d̃] / iiij. Cr̃ faṙ aue . ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s.

S^a vj. s̃ .iij. d̃.

Filii Ie^{a}n Gam ħt in bo . taẋ .ij. boũ . ꝑ .v. s. j. iuñtū ꝑ .v. s / v. vac̃ . ꝑ . c°l3 . iij. s .iiij. d̃. xx. oues ꝑ c°l3 .vj. d̃/ .iiij. Cr̃ . faṙ aue . ꝑ . c°l3 .ij. s. di^m. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .xv. d̃.

S^a iij. s̃ .v. d̃.

Eynõ ap Ad̃ ħt in bo . taẋ .ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃. j. aliū .ij. ānoẋ ꝑ ij. s. vij. oues . ꝑ c°l3 .vj. d̃. di^m. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .xv. d̃. j. Cr̃ . ord̃ . ꝑ .xv. d̃. j. Cr̃ faṙ . c̃ di° . ꝑ .iij. s.

S^a xiiij. d̃. q^a.

Elydir ħt in bo . taẋ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃ / iij. alia ij. ānoẋ ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s / xx. oues ꝑ c°l3 .vj. d̃. / Uteñ . ꝑ .xij. d̃ / j. Cr̃ . frũ . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. d̃ / iij. Cr̃ . faṙ . aue . ꝑ .c°l3 .ij. s.

S^a .ij. s̃ .x. d̃.

Mad̃ ap Eẏnõ ħt in bo . taẋ .j. boũ . ꝑ v. s .iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃ / .j. iuñtū . ꝑ .v. s .ij. alia .ij. ānoẋ . ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s . / xl. oues . ꝑ c°l3 .vj. d̃ . / v. Cr̃ faṙ . aue . ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s . / iiij. Cr̃ . ord̃ . ꝑ c°l3 .xvj. d̃.

S^a .iij. s̃ .ij. d̃.

Mad̃ ap Ioẋ ħt in bo . taẋ .j. iuñtū . ꝑ v. s / .iiij. vac̃ . p c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃ / iij. alia .ij. ānoẋ ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s . / xx. oues . ꝑ c°l3 .vj. d̃ . / j. Cr̃ . ord̃ . ꝑ .xvj. d̃ / .iiij. Cr̃ . faṙ . ꝑ c°l3 .ij. s.

S^a j. s̃ .x. d̃.

Dd̃ ap Teg̃ ħt in bo . taẋ .ij. boũ . ꝑ c°l3 .v. s . / ij. eq°s . ꝑ c°l3 .v. s . / iij. vac̃ . ꝑ c°l3 .iij. s .iiij. d̃ .iij. alia .ij. ānoẋ . ꝑ . c°l3 .ij. s . / xx. oues . ꝑ c°l3 .vj. d̃ / .iij. Cr̃ . fru . c̃ di°. ꝑ

S^a iiij. s̃ .vij. d̃.

.ij. s .vj. đ .vj. Cr̃ . faŕ aue . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s .j. Cr̃ ord . c̃ di° . ꝑ .ij. s. APP. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

Ioꝝ ap G̃g̃ ht in bo . tax̃ .ij. vac̃ . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ / .j. iuṁtū . ꝑ .v. s / iij. au̯ia . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s .iiij. oues . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .vj. đ / j. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ .j. Cr̃ ord c̃ di° . ꝑ .ij. s / ij. Cr̃ . faŕ c̃ . di° . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s. Sª .ij. s̃.

Gᵘff ap Ioꝝ ht in bo . tax̃ / ij. boũ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .v. s / j. eqũ ꝑ .v. s / j. vac̃ . ꝑ .iij. s .iiij. đ. Sª .iij. s̃.

Gwenlł f Ygof ht in bo . tax̃ / v. vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ / ij. au̯ia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s .viij. oues . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .vj. đ . / j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ. Sª .xxij. đ.

Ieªn Ameth ht in bo . tax̃ .ij. boũ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .v. s . / j. iuṁtū ꝑ .v. s / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ .v. oues . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .vj. đ .j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ . / iij. Cr̃ . ord . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .xvj. đ . / ij. Cr̃ . faŕ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s. Sª .ij. s̃ iij. đ. ob.

Dđ ap Melẏr̃ ht in bo . tax̃ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s / iij vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ / ij. au̯ia .ij. ānoꝝ ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s / viij. oues . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .vj. đ / j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ / j. Cr̃ . faŕ . ꝑ .ij. s / j. Cr̃ . ord . ꝑ .xvj. đ. Sª .xxiij. đ.

Ieªn ap Teg̃ ht in bo . tax̃ .j. iuṁtū . ꝑ .v. s / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ / xxv. oues . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .vj. đ .iij. au̯ia .ij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .ij. s / j. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s .vj. đ. Sª ij. s̃ .vij. đ. ob.

Ith̃ Hacarn ht in bo . tax̃ .iij. boũ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .v. s / iij. eq°s . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .v. s / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ / iij. au̯ia .iij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .ij. s .vj. đ . / xl. oues . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .vj. đ . / ij. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .ij. s .vj. đ .viij. Cr̃ . faŕ aue . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .ij. s / ij. Cr̃ ord . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .xvj. đ. Sª .ij. s .vj. đ. ob.

Ior̃ Du ht in bo . tax̃ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s . / j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. s .ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ . Uteñ . ꝑ .xij. đ / ij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .ij. s .vj. đ / v. Cr̃ faŕ aũ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s . / j. Cr̃ . ord ꝑ xvj. đ .iiij. oues . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .vj. đ. Sª ij. s̃ .v. đ.

Teg̃ Goch ht in bo . tax̃ .v. boũ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .v. s / iij. eq°s . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .v. s / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .iij. s .iiij. đ / ij. au̯ia .iij. ānoꝝ . ꝑ . c⁹l₃ .ij. s .vj. đ / ix. oues . ꝑ c⁹l₃ .vj. đ . / Uteñ ꝑ .xij. đ / Sª .v. s̃ .vij. đ.

App. A f. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

ij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ . / vj. Cr̃ . faṽ aue . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ ij. s̄ / ij. Cr̃ . ord̄ ꝑ cl̓ȝ .xvj. d̄.

Ies̄n ap Mad̄ h̄t in bo . tax .ij. iuñta . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / iij. boũ . ꝑ .cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ . Uteñ .xij. d̄ / ij. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ / ij. Cr̃ . faṽ aue . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ / ij. Cr̃ . ord̄ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .xvj. d̄.

S[a] iij. s̄. ob. mi[o].

Teg̃ ap Ies̄n h̄t in bo . taṽ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s̄ / iiij. eq[o]s ꝑ cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / iiij. vac̃ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ .iij. alia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ . / xl. oues ꝑ cl̓ȝ .vj. d̄ . / j. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ / .v. Cr̃ faṽ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ / ij. Cr̃ ord̄ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .xvj. d̄.

S[a] .v. s̄ iij. d̄. ob.

Ad̄ ap Teg̃ h̄t in bo . taṽ . ij. eq[o]s . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

S[a] xiij. d̄. q[a].

Filii Mad̄ Du . h̄nt in bo . taṽ .iij. boũ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. s̄ / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ .iij. alia .iij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ . / vj. oues . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .vj. d̄ . Uteñ .xij. d̄ .iij. Cr̃ . fr̃u . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ / vj. Cr̃ faṽ ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ / ij Cr̃ ord̄ ꝑ cl̓ȝ xvj. [d̄].

S[a] iiij. s̄ .ij. d̄. õ.

Hynaf ap Melẏr ꝛt Mad̄ ap Iokȩ h̄nt in bōis taṽ .vj. boũ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ .iij. eq[o]s ꝑ cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / vij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ . iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ .iiij. alia .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ / v. oues ꝑ cl̓ȝ .vj. d̄ / Uteñ .xij. d̄ .ij. Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ .viij. Cr̃ faṽ ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ / iiij[or] Cr̃ ord̄ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .xvj. d̄.

S[a] vj. s̄ .vj. d̄. ob.

Tud̄ ap Hynaf h̄t in bo . taṽ .j. boũ . ꝑ .v. s̄ / j. eqũ . ꝑ .v. s̄ / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ / j. Cr̃ faṽ . ꝑ .ij. s̄.

S[a] xv. d̄.

Meric ap Iokȩ ꝛt m̃r sua h̄nt in bo . taṽ .iij. boũ . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .v. s̄ / iij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄. / ij. eq[o]s ꝑ cl̓ȝ .v. s̄. j. aliũ .ij. ānoꝫ . ꝑ .ij. s̄ / x. oues ꝑ cl̓ȝ .vj. d̄ / iij. Cr̃ fru . ꝑ cl̓ȝ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄ / ij. Cr̃ . faṽ . ꝑ .ij. s̄ / ij. Cr̃ ord̄ ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .xvj. d̄.

S[a] iij. s̄ .ix. d̄.

Eẏnõ ap Brygkẏ h̄t ī bo . taṽ .iij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ .j. aliũ . ꝑ .ij. s̄.—x. oues . ꝑ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ / j Cr̃ . fru . ꝑ .ij. s̄ .vj. d̄.

S[a] xiiij. d̄. q[a].

Ies̄n Vich[a]n h̄t in bo . taṽ .j. iuñtū . ꝑ .v. s̄ / ij. vac̃ . ꝑ . cl̓ȝ .iij. s̄ .iiij. d̄ / ij. alia ꝑ .ij. s̄—j. Cr̃ . faṽ . ꝑ .ij. s̄.

S[a] xiiij. d̄.

Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw, 1320–40.

Sm^{a} . ville . in ꝑtē regꝯ—xij. liƀ .xij. ſ .vij. đ.

App. A f.

ꝑƀ. [A.D. 1320–1340.]

Malt^{a}ht.

exa^{r}. [Endorsed.]

xv^{a}. Cōmoti de Maltraetħ—L . iij. lī .v. ſ .j. đ . q^{a}.

ꝑƀ.

De Comitatu Angleſ.

Maltraħ.

Sm^{a} exaīata de toto Cōmoto—Liij. lī .v. ſ .j. đ . q^{a}.

APPENDIX Ag.

ACCOUNT OF THE ISSUES OF ABERFFRAW, 25 EDW. III., A.D. 1351.

Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1149, *No.* 1, *Public Record Office.*

Aberfrau.

APP. Ag. A.D. 1351.

Compot^{o} . Thom̃ de Harbergh ⁊ Wilti de Waltoñ firmar̃ Maner̃ de Aberfrau . de exitibus eiusd̃m a fo sc̃i Michis anno regni Regis Eꝯ ꝛcii post conquestū xxiiij^{to}. ⁊ Principat^{o} d̃ni Eꝯ Princip̃ Walt Duc̃ Cornub̃ ⁊ Comitis Cestr̃ viij^{o}. usq; id̃m fm p̄xim̃ seqñ anno dc̃i Regꝯ xxv^{to} Principat^{o} d̃ni Princ̃ ix^{o}.

Exit^{o}. d̃nicoꝝ.

D exitibꝫ .iiij. caruc̃ ꝛre ib̃m que ad vj. li exĩ p̄ annñ sicut conĩ in extenĩ facta . tempe Reg̃ aui Rꝯ nūc . Quinĩ caruc̃ ꝛre ib̃m que dimitteb̃ diuꝯ tenenĩ de Trefcastel p̄ .lx. s̄ p̄ annñ . uni^{o} p^{a}ti q̄d ad vj. s̄ .viij. d̃ exĩ p̄ eand̃ extenĩ ⁊ redd̃ anno ꝓced̃ xv. s̄ . al p^{a}to quod silꝯ ext^{r} ad vj. s̄ .viij. d̃. Piscar̃ eiusd̃m Maner̃ que ad ij. s̄ . exĩ . j Molend̃ de Dyndryn q̄d ad xl. s̄ exĩ ⁊ r̃ sol x. s̄ .j. d̃ ult^{a} extenĩ . alꝯ molend̃ ib̃m q̄d ad xl. s̄ [exĩ] ⁊ r̃ sol x. s̄ .j. d̃ ult^{a} eand̃m extenĩ . T^{o})cii mol voc̃ Mullebunt q̄d sīliꝯ ad xl. s̄ exĩ p̄ annñ . ⁊ r̃ . sol x. s̄ j. d̃ ult^{a} eand̃m extenĩ . xxx acr̃ ꝛre in vilt de Ab̃frau que fuer̃ Wilt Daniel . exist in mañ d̃ni ut escaet̃ p̄ mort eiusd̃m Wilti que sol dimitti ad iij. s̄ .vj. d̃ ext^{a} extenĩ seu cui^{o}d̃m pastur̃ infra dc̃m Maner̃ que ad xx. s̄ extend̃ p̄ annū . Nec de .lx. s̄ tenenĩ de Trefcastel tenenĩ inꝯ se j. caruc̃ ꝛre dud̃ de d̃nico d̃ni sic̃ arrenĩ post confect extenĩ p̄ annñ ad iiij^{or} ꝛmīos videlt Oīm sc̃oꝝ . Pur̃ ꝺe Marie Ap̃loꝝ Ph̃ ⁊ Jacob̃ ⁊ Gul Augusti .xxix. s̄ .viij. d̃ . De redd̃ ass̄ lib̃ tenenc̃ ville de Ab̃frau sicut conĩ in extenĩ ad ꝓdc̃os iiij. ꝛmīos .xv. s̄ .xj. d̃ . De redd̃ ass̄

Hameletti de Bodeueryk ad ꝑdc̃os .iiij. ꝓmīos x. ꝭ . de redd̄ assꝭ liƀ teñ de Trewaspatrikꝯ ad ꝑdc̃os .iiij. ꝓmīos .v. ꝭ vj. d̄ . De redd̄ villañ eiusd̄m ville de Trūc ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos xiij. ꝭ vij. d̄ . de eisd̄m villañ ꝑ firma butiꝛ̄ . lacꝛ̄ ꝯ opac̃ arrenꝛ̄ ad eosd̄ . ꝓm̃os ix. ꝭ .viij. d̄ . de redd̄ ix villañ hameletti de Trefberwetꝯ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os v. ꝭ .iiij. d̄ de eisd̄m ꝑ iiij. cⁿnoc̃ fariñ ord̄i ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os iiij. ꝭ .vj. d̄ . de eisd̄m ꝑ ix m̃ltoñ arꝛ̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os xviij. d̄ . ꝑ ix agñ arꝛ̄ ad .ij. ꝭ iij. d̄ . de eisdem ꝑ butuꝛ̄ arꝛ̄ ad eosdem ꝓmīos vij. d̄ . de eisd̄m ꝑ Ciiij^{xx} ouis galliñ arrenꝛ̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos .ix. d̄ . de redd̄ .ix. galliñ de eisd̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os .xxxvj. ꝭ .ij. d̄ oƀ de eisd̄m ꝑ Clxj. opibus j. die ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos . ij ꝭ de redd̄ j. villñ qui quond̄m voc̃ Dd de Hiƀnico . Hameletti de Dynthladan loc̃ med̄ bloꝫ suoꝫ ꝯ lacꝛ̄ q̃d voc̃ Mꝰyonitħ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os viij. ꝭ .vj. d̄ . De fiꝛ̄ Gregoꝛ̄ ap . Lꝛ̄ . ꝑ j. cⁿnoc̃ fr̄i ꝯ iiij cⁿnoc̃ aueñ ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos xvj. d̄ . de eisd̄m ꝑ ij m̃ltoñ ꝯ ij. agñ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os vj. d̄ . de eisd̄m ꝑ butiꝛ̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos .j. d̄ . oƀ de eisd̄m ꝑ xl. oũ galliñ ad eosd̄m tm̃os .vj. d̄, de eisd̄m ꝑ vj. galliñ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os .iij. ꝭ .ix. d̄ de eisd̄m ꝑ opibꝫ xxx dierū ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os xiij d̄ oƀ . de Pellipaꝛ̄ ꝑ dī cⁿnoc̃ farine ord̄i medieꝛ̄ j. m̃ltoñ .j. agñ .j. gallñ ꝯ .x. cunis butiꝛ̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos xj. d̄ qª, de eod̄m ꝑ opibꝫ vij. dieꝫ . ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os iij. ꝭ .iiij. d̄ de redd̄ villañ hameletti de Keuentrefau ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos xviij d̄ . oƀ de eisd̄m ꝑ j. agñ ꝯ dī xxx. Cuñ butiꝛ̄ v. gallñ dī .j. Histoꝫ blad̄ de opac̃ iij. dieꝫ . ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos seu de Mꝰionnytħ . seu viij ꝭ viij d̄ de redd̄ villañ de Aƀfrau ꝑ anñ ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos xlviij. ꝭ vij. d̄ de eisd̄m ꝑ x. cⁿnoc̃ dī fr̄i . vij cⁿnoc̃ fariñ aueñ iiij cⁿnoc̃ fariñ ord̄i ad eosd̄m ꝓmīos vj. ꝭ .viij. d̄ de eisd̄m ꝑ x. cⁿnoc̃ aueñ ad ꝑƀnd̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os .xvj. ꝭ .iij d̄ de ix villañ eiusd̄m ville ꝑ lacꝛ̄ iij. vac̃ iiij m̃ltoñ dī .ix. angñ xxvij gallñ .Cl. oũ ꝯ butiꝛ̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os v. ꝭ .j. d̄ de vj. tenenꝛ̄ vasꝛ̄ ꝑ iij m̃ltoñ vj. agñ . ix gallñ .C. oũ ꝯ butiꝛ̄ ad eosd̄m ꝓm̃os ij. ꝭ .iij. d̄ de ix villañ dc̃e ville ꝑ xxvij galliñ ad

APP. A g. [A.D. 1351.] eosđm ꝑm̃os ij s .iij. d de eisđm p opib3 iij dierū ad blad đni sarclanđ ad eosđm ꝑmios xxx. s de eisđm villañ p igne ꝛ stramne in Cuř đni Reg̃ ad eosđm ꝑ .lxvj. s .ix. d de opib3 autup̃i CCC hoïm quos xv villñ Manerř inuēient ꝛ iiij^{xx} hoïm quos villañ forinc̃ inuenient ad eosđm ꝑm̃os .lxxv. s de DC hoïb3 ꝛ eq̃ ad ħeam p j. diem ad eosđm ꝑm̃os . Seu de pħitis ꝛ pquis Cuř eiusđm Manerř p temp^{o} comꝑ releū ꝛ Gobř tolñ Nunđ iƀm pquis Cuř Nunđ eaꝫđm seu xx. s . de firma portař iƀm n^{l} ř hic eo q̃d dc̃m Manerř de Aƀfrau una cū om̄ib3 exitib3 ꝛ pfic̃ ꝑdc̃is eiđm Manerř ptiñ seu inde quouismodo pueñ conc̃ ꝑdc̃is Thom̃ ꝛ Wiltmo ex dimiss Johnis Delues locū teñ Iustic̃ Northwalł ꝛ Camerř iƀm p temp̃ hui^{o} compi . Redđ inde đno .xx. lī.

De quib3 xx. lī iiđm Thom̃ ꝛ Willm̃s ř inferius . Đ boñ intestař defuncto^{r} escaeť n^{l} ř . q^{d} Willm̃s de Ellertoñ firmař escaetrie ħt h^{o}i pfic̃ ad firmā p toť Com̃ Angles ut sup^{a} . Đ am̄c̃ tenenc̃ Manerř in T^{r}no vic̃ seu de Wrecco mař nō attinḡ valorem xl. s n^{l} ř q^{d} dc̃us Willm̃s de Alertoñ firmař vic̃ Angles ħt eađm pfic̃ ult^{a} firmā suam . Nec de wrecco mař dc̃m valorem xl. s exceđ n^{l} q3 iđm Wilł de Allertoñ deƀ inde compuť ꝛ ř in comꝑ suo de hoc anno.

ř Esc̃.

ř Vic̃.

ř Vic̃.

* * *

Đ xij. d de incř̄o firme xxx. acř ꝛre in Manerř de Aƀfrau existť in mañ đni a diu p reu̇c̃ post morť Wilłi Danieł qui eas teñ ad ꝛīm vite de doñ .Lł. Princip ult^{a} iij s vj. d ad quos p^{l}us dimitť dimiss anno ultīo ꝑħito Howel Tew p Thom̃ le T^{r}nour Esc̃ sic̃ conť in comꝑ eiusđ Thom̃ de eođm anno n^{l} q^{d} firmař ħnt eađm pfic̃ infr^{a} firmā suam ut s^{a}.

APPENDIX Ba.

EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE CASTLE AND HONOR OF DENBIGH, 8 EDW. III., A.D. 1335.

Extent of the Villata of Astret Canon. Progenies of Canon ap Lauwargh located there.

A.D. 1335.

[p. 75.]

ꝵs Villata de Astretꝯ Canoñ.

Villata de Astret Canon que dum fuit integª in manibꝫ ꝑgeïj Canon ap Lauwargħ in .iiij. gauellis quaꝝ quełt gauella reddit de Tungꝯ tempe Princiꝑ .ij. ꝵ .vj. đ . de quibꝫ patebit statim inpostеꝝ Et sunt oīes tenentes liƀi . ꝛ c̃ . videłt.

hꝫ domū hꝫ domū
Ithel Loyd ap Cadugan Lewelyn Vaghª n ap Lł ꝛ

hꝫ domū
Ithel ap Ioꝝ Duy ap Lł tenent dī gauelł integr̃ que fuit Lauwargħ Vaghª n reddendo de Tungꝯ inꝑ se xv. đ ꝑmīo Oïm Sc̃oꝝ Et ꝑ pastu Princiꝑ ad Natał Dni .xxij. đ . ꝛ quołt alio ꝑmino de iijbꝫ ꝑm̃is supª dc̃is .xv. đ . ꝛ ceꝛa ꝺuic̃ cum aliis in cōi ut pꝫ inferius et ħent excamƀ in Wyckewere ꝛ alibi ꝑ eoꝝ heredit̃ in Astret . Ita q̃d tota eoꝝ ħedit̃ in Astret est in mañ đni ꝛ arenr inferiꝰ ut patebt.

Gauella Lauwargħ Vaghª n.

hꝫ domū hꝫ domū
Cadugan Bottum ap Edeñ . Lewel Duy ap Eignon .

hꝫ domū hꝫ domm̃ non hꝫ domm̃
Edeñ ap Tuder ap Eden Keñ ap Heillyn ap Maƀ ꝛ Madokꝯ fraꝛ eius tenēt dī gauelł integr̃ que fuit Ioꝝ ap Canon . Reddendo de Tungꝯ ꝑ am . ꝑm̃is ꝑdc̃is xv. đ Et ceꝛa ꝺuicia in oīibꝫ ut dī gauelł ꝑcedens . et oīes ħent excamƀ in aliis villis ut ceꝛi supius Ita q̃d illa dī gauella integr̃ remanеꝫ đno in Astret ꝛ appuatr ut patebit inferius.

Dī gaū Joꝝ ap Canon.

App. Ba.

A.D. 1335.

h3 domū h3 domū
Keñ ap Routh ap Ienafɛ ap Ririd Heilyn ap Grono ap
h3 domū h3 domū
Ririđ Edeñ Loyđ ap Ken . ap Grono . Griff ap Lł Eigñ

Gaũ Ienaf ap Canoñ.

h3 domū habet domū h3 domū
Ken . fraꝛ eius Guyn ap Madokɛ Gogh Caduğ ap Ririd ap
h3 domū ħet domū
Eignon Bleth ap Ienafɛ ap Caduğ ⁊ Ioꝝ ap Caduğ ap Yeuª

[p. 76.]

teñ ꝓciam ꝑtem ⁊ decīam ꝑtem gauelł Ienafɛ ap Canon . reddendo de Tungɛ inꝛ se .xij. đ qª . et ꝑ pastu Principꝫ ad Natał Dni Dni .ij ſ .ij. đ obꝫ qª ⁊ quoł alio ꝓmīo de iijbꝫ ꝓmis ꝓdictis xviij. đ ⁊ ceꝛa ꝓuicia in cōi ut patebit inferius Et ħent excambꝫ in aliis villis Ita q̃d tota gauella ista in Astret integr̃ remaneat đno ⁊ appuatr cum aliis ⁊ c̃.

habet domū non h3 domū ħ domñ
Yeuan Loyd ap Grono ap Caduğ . Keñ ⁊ Dauiđ
non h3 domū h3 domū
fr̃es eius Eden Loyd ap Mađ ap Grono . Madokɛ ap Ioꝝ ap
non h3 domª non h3 domū
Grono . Euer ap Ithel ap Groñ Dauid ap Ioꝝ Grono .

Gaũ Eignon ap Canon.

non habet domª non h3 domū non h3 domñ
Eden ap Dđ ap Grono Ioꝝ fraꝛ eius ⁊ Yeuan ap Ioꝝ ap Grono tenent medieť ⁊ xxiiijtam ꝑtem gauelł Eignoñ ap Canon . Reddendo de Tungɛ ꝓmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ xvj. đ qª . ⁊ ꝑ pastu Principꝫ ad Natał Dni ij. ſ v đ ⁊ quoł alio ꝓmīo de iij ꝓm̃is ꝓdictɛ xix đ ⁊ ceꝛa ꝓuic̃ in cōi cum aliis inferius. Et ħent excambꝫ in aliis villis Ita q̃d tota ista gauella in Astret remanȝ đno ⁊ appruatr inferius ut patebit.

h3 domū h3 domª h3 domu
Madokɛ ap Eignon ap Keñ . Mourykɛ ⁊ Ken fr̃es eius
h3 domū h3 domª non h3 domª
Eignon ap Griffuth Eden ap Griffuth Vaghª n Griff ap Yenaf
non ħet domū ħet domª
ap Griff Owen ap Grono ap Ken . Griffuth ap Bleth Loyđ
ħet domª ħet domª non ħet domñ
Dauid fraꝛ eius Tuder ap Blethyn . Heillyn ap Keñ ap Bleth

Dī gauelł Mouryk ap Canon.

non ħet domū non ħet domñ non ħt domñ
Eden fraꝛ eius Ioꝝ ap Griff Gogh ⁊ Blethyn ⁊ Pythle fr̃es eius tenent iij ptes dī gauelle Mourykɛ ap Canon ⁊ duas

ꝑtes quarte ꝑtis eiusdem gauelle . Reddendo de Tungꝯ ꝑ annū ꝟmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ xiij. đ q^{a} Et ꝑ pastu Princiꝑ ad Nataꝫ Dni ij. ß .v. đ oƀ q^{a} Et quoꝫt alio ꝟmīo de iijbꝫ ꝟm̃is ꝑdictis xx. đ ꝟt ceꝫa ꝟuic̃ in cōi ut sup^{a} ꝟt c̃ . ꝟt ħent excambƀ in aliis villis Ita q̃d dc̃a dī gaū in Astret remaneat integr̃ đno ꝟt appruat^{r} cum aliis ꝟt c̃. App. Ba. A.D. 1335.

ħ dom̃ ħ dom̃ ħ
Mađ ap Dđ ad Eignoñ Dauid ap Lauwargħ Duy Dđ ap [p. 77.]
dom̃ ħ dom̃ ħ dom̃
Mourykꝯ Gogħ Heillyn Cucca Yeu^{a} ap Dđ ap Mađ . ꝟt Dïa gaū Nynyat ap Canoñ.
ñ ħ dom̃ ñ ħ do^{m}. ñ ħ dom̃.
fraꝟ eius ꝟt Anneys Moythin Eden ap Eignon ap Keneꝟth
ñ ħ dom̃ ñ ħ dom̃ ñ ħ do^{m}
Griff fraꝟ eius Mađ Gogħ ap Ioꝝ ꝟt Groñ ap Keñ Gogħ tenent duas ꝑtes ꝟt quintā ꝑtem dī gauelꝫ Nynyat ap Canoñ reddendo de Tungꝯ ꝟmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ xj. đ Et ꝑ pastu Princ̃ ad Nataꝫ Dni xvij. đ q^{a} . ꝟt quoꝫt alio ꝟmīo de iij ꝟm̃is ꝑdictis xj. đ . oƀ q^{a}. Et ceꝫa ꝟuicia in cōi ut patebit inferius ꝟt ħent excambƀ in aliis villis Ita q̃d ista dïa gauella remanꝫ integr̃ đno ꝟt app^{u}at^{r} cū aliis inferius.

ßs Sm^{a} Tungꝯ Villate de Astret ꝑ a^{m} ꝟmīo Oīm Scoꝝ vj. ß .xj. đ oƀ q^{a}.

Sm^{a} pastus Princ̃ ibidem ad terminos	Nataꝫ Dni	xij ß . ij đ oƀ q^{a}	s^{c}	ꝑ	a^{m}
	Međ xl^{me}	viij ß ij đ oƀ q^{a}		xxxvj	ß
	Naꝫ sc̃i Joħis	viij ß ij đ oƀ q^{a}		xj . đ.	
	Exalꝫ sc̃e C^{u}is	viij ß ij đ oƀ q^{a}			

Et sciđ q̃d tota villata de Astret Canoñ deuenit ad man^{o} đni ꝑtim ꝑ viam escaeꝫ ꝛone tenenc̃ qui obierunt cont^{a} pacem ꝟt ꝑtim ꝑ viam excambioꝝ et continet tota villata Dlxxiiij ac̃r De quibꝫ sumunt^{r} ad Maneriū de Kilforñ quod extendit^{r} in Cōmoto de Kaymergħ CCviij ac̃r ꝟt xviij ꝑtic̃ ꝟt includun^{r} infra ꝑuū ꝑcum iux^{a} Cast^{m} de Dynbiegħ lv ac̃r j. rođ dī ꝟt v. ꝑtic̃ . Et arentant^{r} ut patet inferieus Cxij ac̃r in bouaꝫ ꝟt ac̃r Et sumunt^{r} ad Maħiū de Astret Oweyn quod est in Cōmoto de Kaħgħ xiiij ac̃r dī ꝟt iiij ꝑtic̃ ꝟt incluse fuerunt inf^{a} ꝑcū de Distinc̃to Escaete.

APP. B a. A.D. 1335.

Lewenny que nūc arentanr cū eodem ꝑco ꝑt patet supius Ciij acr̃ dī ⁊ xxxvj ꝑtic̃ . Et sunt in viis ⁊ vastis cōibꝫ . xxx acr̃ ⁊ xvij ꝑtic̃.

⁊ iste .x. acr̃ arenᵗ fuer̃ coram dño apd Wodestok̃ ꝑ .x. ſ. ꝑ am. Videar quo waranto sunt nunc ad iij. ſ iiij. d.

Willm̃s del Mos tenet unam bouatam conᵗ x. acr̃ ꝓre que põita fuit in Rentali villate de Lewenny erronice ⁊ reddit ꝑ annum ad ꝓmīos Penᵗ ⁊ sc̃i Mich̃is ꝑ equales porc̃ones iij. ſ .iiij d Et idem Wilts tenet nichilominꝰ .x. acr̃ ꝓre ꝑ quibꝫ solebat reddere ꝑ annū iij ſ iiij d ꝓm̃is ꝓdc̃is ⁊ nūc ħet illas quieᵗ alloc̃ ꝑ bouaᵗ sua ꝑtiñ ad Burg̃ suū de Dynbiegħ infra muros.

Adam de Rossyndale tenet unam bouatam ꝓre conᵗ .x. acr̃ que prius erronice positᵗ fuit in Rentali villate de Lewenny ⁊ reddit ꝑ am ad duos ꝓmīos ꝓdc̃os iij. ſ .iiij d.

Ioħes de Swynemor ⁊ Ioħes fit Wilti Egelyne tenent j bouaᵗ ꝓre conᵗ x. acr̃ ꝑ qua solebat reddere ꝑ am ad duos ꝓmīos ꝓdc̃os iij ſ iiij d Et nūc allocantr Ioħi de Swynemor quieᵗ ꝑ bouaᵗ sua ꝑtiñ ad Burg̃ suū de Dynb infra muros ⁊ c̃ . Et fuit ista bouata priꝰ põita in Rentali villate de Lewenny.

Ric̃us de Fermery tenet unam bouatam simiłr conᵗ x. acr̃ ꝓre que prius posita fuit erronice in Rentali villate de Lewenny ꝑ qua solebat reddere ꝑ annū ꝓm̃is ꝓdictis iij ſ iiij d . Et nūc tenet illam quieᵗ ꝑ bouaᵗ sua ad burg̃ suū de Dynb infa muros ⁊ c̃.

Ioħes de Lonnesdale tenet unam bouaᵗ ꝓre conᵗ x. acr̃ que prius erronice ponebatr in Lewenny r̃ ꝓ ꝑ—iij. ſ .iiij d.

ſs Sma Firm̃ bouaᵗ—Penᵗ .v. ſ. in ꝓm̃is—Sc̃i Mich̃ .v. ſ. } Sic ꝑ annū x ſ ꝑ iij bouaᵗ conᵗ xxx acr̃.

Willm̃s Crteys tenet ꝑ Cartam d̄ni Wilti de Monte Acuto .xx. acr̃ ꝓre impp̃m ꝑ quibꝫ solebat reddere ꝑ annū xx ſ.

Ioħes de Mostoñ tenet iiij acr̃ ꝓre ꝓc̃ acr̃ viij d . reddendo ꝑ annū ad duos ꝓmīos ꝓdc̃os—ij. ſ .viij d . Adam le Carpenꝰ tenet vij acr̃ ꝓre ꝓc̃ acr̃ viij d redd̄o ꝑ annū ad duos ꝓmīos

ꝺdc̃os—ij ſ .viij ꝺ . Willm̃s ꝛ Ioh̃es de Swynemor teñ ij acr̃ ei⁹ꝺ ꝺc̃ r̃ ꝓ ꝑ xvj. ꝺ. APP. B a. A.D. 1335.

Ioh̃es Egelyne tꝫ .ij acr̃ eiusꝺ ꝺc̃ r̃ ꝑ aⁿ ꝓn̄ is ꝺdc̃is xvj ꝺ.

Thom⁸s de Hultoñ tenet iiij acr̃ ꝛ dī ꝓe unde .j. acr̃ ꝺc̃ viij ꝺ . ꝛ iij acr̃ dī ꝺc̃ acr̃ vj ꝺ . r̃ ꝑ a^m ꝓ ꝑ—ij ſ .v. ꝺ.

Alex̃ Danney tꝫ vj acr̃ r̃ ꝑ a^m ꝓm̃is ꝺdc̃is—iij. ſ .iij. ꝺ.

Wilꝁs del Wode tenet j. plac̃ ꝺc̃ iiij ꝺ ꝛ x. acr̃ ꝓre ꝺc̃ acr̃ vj ꝺ reddendo ꝓm̃is ꝺdc̃is—v. ſ .iiij. ꝺ.

Ioh̃es de Hoghtoñ tenet vij acr̃ ꝓre ꝺc̃ acr̃ xij ꝺ reddendo ꝓm̃is ꝺdictis—vij ſ.

Iorꝺ de Byngeleye tenet j acr̃ r̃ ꝓm̃is ꝺdc̃is—xij ꝺ.

Henr̃ Grym tenet iiij acr̃ ꝓre eiusdem ꝺc̃ reꝺꝺo ꝓm̃is ꝺdc̃is iiij ſ. [p. 79.]

Thom⁸s de Lonnasdale tenet v. acr̃ eiusdem ꝺc̃ r̃ ꝓ̄is ꝺdc̃is v. ſ.

Ioh̃es de Lonnesdale tenet v acr̃ eiusdem ꝺc̃ . r̃ ꝓ ꝑ a^m .v. ſ.

Ric̃us de Baytoñ tenet j. plac̃ ꝺc̃ vj ꝺ ꝛ iiij acr̃ ꝓre ꝺc̃ acr̃ xij d . reddendo ꝑ annū ꝓminis ꝺdictis—iiij. ſ .vj. ꝺ.

Sm⁸ Firm̃ acr̃ de Astret in terminis } Penr̃ xxiij ſ .ix ꝺ. Sc̃i Mich̃ xxiij ſ .ix ꝺ } Sic ꝑ annū xlvij ſ .vj ꝺ ꝑ ij plac̃ ꝛ lxij. acr̃ ꝓre.

Et ꝑꝓea tenent^r quiet̃ tam inꝓ bouat̃ q⁸m inꝓ acras ut ꝺdicit^r—l acr̃ que solebant reddere xxx ſ . ꝑ annū que nunc nichil reddunt ut sup⁸.

Et sic supsunt l acr̃ ꝛ medietas uni⁹ rode . que cedunt in auauntagiū mensur̃ tenenciū unde dn̄s nullū capit annuale ꝑficuū que si extracte fuissent valerent ꝑ a^m admin⁹ xxv ſ . ob̄ q⁸ ꝺc̃ acr̃ .v. ꝺ.

APPENDIX Bb.

Extent of the Villata of Nanthyn Canon. Progenies of Canon ap Lauwargh located there.

Villata de Nanthyn Canon.

APP. Bb

A.D. 1335.

Villata de Nanthyn Canon . que conť in terř boscꝙ ⁊ vastꝙ cū hamelť de Pennankyngy vᶜlxiiij acř iij roď consistit in manibꝫ ꝑgenieij Canon ap Lawargħ absq; Tungꝙ ⁊ Tretħ que est hamelť ꝓtinens ad Astret Canon ⁊ tenetʳ in iiij gauelť de quibꝫ statim responʳ inpostea Et est porc̃o cuiusliƀt gauelť ꝺcd̃m equam ꝓticipac̃oem Cxlj acř ⁊ xxx ꝓtič ꝟre . bosci ⁊ vasti ⁊ c̃.

[p. 86.] Ithel Loyd ap Caduğ̃ ⁊ coheredes ⁊ ꝓticipes sui quoꝝ noïa patent in villa de Astret Canon tenent dī gauelť integř̃ que fuit Lauwargħ Vaghᵃn ꝑ qua fac̃ omīď ꝟuič in Astret Canoñ . Et ideo nˡ hic Et dn̄s nullam ħet ꝑpartem in ista dī gauelť ⁊ c̃.

Dī gauelť Lauwargħ Vaghᵃn.

Cadugan Butoñ ⁊ coheredes ⁊ ꝓticipes sui quoꝝ noïa patent in villa de Astret ⁊ tenent hic dī gauelť que fuit Ioꝝ ap Canon integř̃ fac̃ ꝑ ea omīď ꝟuič in Astret Et ideo nˡ hic Et dn̄s nullam ħet ꝑpartem in ista dī gauelť.

Dī gaū Ioꝝ ap Canoñ.

Ken . Routħ ap Ienᵃfꝙ ⁊ coheredes ⁊ ꝓticipes sui quoꝝ noïa patent in Astret Canoñ tenent hic duas ꝓtes gauelť que fuit Ienᵃfꝙ ap Canoñ fac̃ ꝑ inde om̄ia ꝟuič in Astret Canoñ Et ïo nˡ hic . Et ꝟcia ꝑs istius gauelť est escaeť ꝺni ř̃one mortuoꝝ conᵃ pac̃ uᵗ pꝫ inferiᵒ.

Dī Gaū Ienafꝙ ap Canon.

Yeū Loitꝙ ap Groñ ap Caduğ̃ ⁊ coheredes ⁊ ꝑcenař̃ sui quoꝝ noïa patent in Astret tenent hic tres ꝓtes gaū Eigñ ap Canoñ fac̃ om̄ia ꝟuič in Astret Et ideo nichil hic . Et quarta

Gaū Eigñ ap Canon·

ꝑs eiusdem gauelł h^c est escaeť đni . que appruat^r cū ał esc̃ inferiu^o. APP. B b.

A.D. 1335.

Mađ ap Eigñ ap Keñ ꝛ ꝑcenaŕ sui quoꝝ noïa patent in Astret Canon . teñ hic dī gaũ Meur^a ap Canon integr̃ fac̃ ꝑ ea omĩđ ꝺuic̃ in Astret Et ideo n^ł hic Et dñs nullā ħet Esc̃ de i^ta dī gaũ. Dī gaũ Meur^a ap Canon.

Mađ ap Dđ ap Eigñ ꝛ ꝑcenaŕ sui quoꝝ noïa patent in Astret Canon . teñ totam dimiđ gauelł Nynyat ap Canoñ fac̃ ꝑ ea omĩđ ꝺuic̃ in Astret Et ideo n^ł hic Et dñs ñlł ħet esc̃ in i^a dī gau^ł. Dī g aũ Nynyat ap Canon.

Et est ꝑpars đni iƀm ꝓcia ꝑs illius gauelł ꝛ quarta ꝑs illius gauelł que conť ꝺcđm veram ꝑporcõem $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ ij acr̃ .j. rođ ꝛ xvij ꝑtic̃ dī . Unde allocanđ sunt ꝑ excamƀ ꝓdarioꝝ eiusdem ꝑgeïj ꝑimplenđ ꝑ eoꝝ pat^tmoniis in Astret Canon ꝛ Wennanokꝓ Canoñ . xxix acr̃ iij rođ di ꝛ iij ꝑtic̃ dī. Distinc̃o Escaeť.

Ken . Routħ tenꝫ . vij acr̃ dī veteŕ ꝓre ꝓc̃ acr̃ vj. đ reddo ꝑ annū ad ꝓmīos Penť ꝛ sc̃i Michis—iij ꝭ .ix đ.

Idem Keñ tenꝫ in Pennanckyngy iij acr̃ ꝓre que fuerunt Itħ Voil ꝓc̃ acr̃ vj đ reddendo ꝑ annū ꝓm̃is ꝺdictis—xviij đ. Fir^a Esc̃

Et t̃n hucusq; . n^ł ꝑ eis reddiđ toto tempe đni nūc quia erronice põite fueŕ in Nanthyn Sc̃oꝝ ꝛ sic fraudelenꝓ dedicte ꝛ concellate . Ideo leuent^r arrerag̃ ꝛ c̃ Et iacet illa ꝓra in j pec̃ circumfossať . ubi dc̃us Ithel solebat in tempe Escaeť reddeŕ. [p. 87.] No^a.

Heillyn ap Groñ tꝫ de assarť bosci j acr̃ .j. rođ dī ꝛ xiiij ꝑtic̃ ꝑ mensuŕ Extenť ꝓc̃ acr̃ vj. đ reddendo ꝑ annū ad duos ꝓmīos ꝺdc̃os viij đ oƀ q^a . t̃n hucusq; non reddidit nisi ꝑ una ac^a vj. đ.

Hugo Pygot solebat tenere hic xviij acr̃ ꝓre r̃ ꝑ a^m ix ꝭ ꝓc̃ acr̃ vj đ quas excamƀ ꝑ ꝑte Keñ Routħ in Wennannok Canon . Uñ idem Hugo . r̃ de ista firma in incr̃o iƀm ꝛ Ideo n^ł de ista firma hic. Videa^r que fuit ꝑporc̃o Ken . Routħ in Wen-

nānok Canon . q̃d si aliq̃d auanť poꝛit accresc̃e de dc̃o excamƀ accrescat đno ex quo ambe ꝑtes tenēt in inŝr non ħent potestať fac̃ excamƀ sñ lic̃ đni

APP. B b.

A.D. 1335.

ꝭs. Sm^{a} Firme de Nanthyn Canon in ꝓminis—
Penť ij. ꝭ .xj đ ob̃ q^{a}
Sc̃i Mich̃ iij ꝭ

Hbag̃ S^{e} ꝑ annū v ꝭ .xj đ ob̃ q^{a} cū xx đ ob̃ q^{a} de incr̃o ꝑ xj acr̃ iij rod̃ dī xiij ꝑtic̃ de incr̃o.

Et residuū ꝑpartis đni alloc̃ ꝓdar̃ de Astret Canon ꝑ eoꝫ hered̃ ibm ꝛ in Wennannok Canoñ ꝓꝓ . xxij acr̃ dī bosci ꝑ q^{a}ꝫ hbag̃ tota cōitas ville r̃ ꝑ annū ad duos ꝓmīos ꝓdc̃os ix. s. S^{a} pꝫ.

Ken Routh̃ tenꝫ ad firmam ꝑpartem đni quam h̃et in uno Molendino aquatico eiusdem ville r̃ ꝑ annū ꝓ ꝓ ij ꝭ . viij đ.

Idem Keñ reddidit đno annuatim incipiendo anno viij^{o}. ut fate^{r} ij ꝭ . viij đ ꝑ licenc̃ leuand̃ unū Molend̃ fulloñ ꝛ c̃ sup solū cōe ut dic^{t} ꝛ c̃.

ꝭs. Sm^{a} Firm̃ Molendini ad Terminos
Penť—ij ꝭ . viij đ
Sc̃i Michis ijꝭ . viij đ
} Sic ꝑ a^{m}. v ꝭ iiij đ.

APPENDIX B c.

Extent of the Villata of Prees . Progenies of Canon ap Lauwargh and Pithle ap Lauwargh located there.

Villata of Prees.

APP. B c.

A.D. 1335.

Villata de Prees cum suis hamellis que conť ꝑ magnum vastum quod est cõe ad oms tenentes dominii de Ros et de Rewaynok ꝛ Kaymgħ viij mł viij c lxxviij acř j rod dī que temporibȝ Principum reddidit de Tungɋ xx ß oƀ idem [1] villata integ[a] fuit in manibȝ veř hered ante forisfc̄ur̄ Et consistit in tenur[a] diusaȝ ꝓgenieȝ tam liƀoȝ q[a]m Natiuoȝ de quibȝ patet inferius primo de liƀis et postea de Natiuis. [p. 89.] Liƀe tenenť. [p. 90.]

De sexta ꝑte eiusdem ville que consistit in tenur[a] ꝓgenieij Canō ap Lauwargħ sunt iiij gauelł ꝛ dīa que dum fueř integ[a] reddiderunt de Tungɋ iij. ß . iiij d. De ꝓgenie Canō ap Lau-

Ithel Loit ap Caduğ ꝛ ꝓcenař sui quoȝ noïa patent in Astret Canon teñ hic dī gauelł Lauwargħ Vagh[a]n integr̄ re . de Tungɋ adinuicem ꝑ annū ꝑmīo Oïm Scoȝ iiij d oƀ ꝛ nulla alia ꝑuicia hic quia eoȝ ꝑuicia una cū ꝑuiĉ oïm alioȝ de ꝓgenie Canon ap Lauwargħ plene inscribunt[r] in villis de Astret Canon. wargħ. Dī gaū Lau-wargħ Vaghan.

Caduğ Bottum ap Edeñ ꝛ ꝓcenař sui quoȝ noïa patent in Astret Canon teñ dī gauelł Ioȝ ap Canon integre reddendo de Tungɋ inꝑ se ꝑmīo ꝓdc̄o iiij. d oƀ ꝛ nichil aliud hic q̄ in Astret Canon ꝛ c̄. Dī gaū Ioȝ ap Canon.

Ken . Routħ ap Ienaf ꝛ ꝓcenař sui quoȝ noïa patent in Astret Canon teñ inꝑ se medieť ꝛ ix[am] ꝑtem gauelle Ienn[a]f̄ ap

[1] So in the MS.

APP. B c.

Canon hic reddendo de Tunge ꝑmio Oĩm Scoꝫ v. d . ob . Et nulla fac̃ alia ꝙuic̃ hic quia in Astret Canon . Et ꝓcia ps ꝛ xviij^{a} ps eiusdem gauelł hic sunt Escaet̃ đni unde respondet^{r} inferius.

Gaũ Ienn^{a}f̃ ap Canon.

Ienn^{a}f̃ Loit ap Groñ ap Caduğ ꝛ ꝑcenar̃ sui quoꝫ nõia patent in Astret Canon tenent ij ꝑtes ꝛ quartam ꝑtem ꝓcie ꝑtis gauelł Eignoñ ap Canon . reddendo de Tunge ꝑmio Oĩm Sc̃oꝫ vj đ ob q^{a} Et nulla alia ꝙuic̃ hic quia in Astret Canon ꝛ tres pt̃ . iij^{e} pt̃ eiusdem gauelle hic sunt escaet̃ đni unde respondet^{r} inferiu^{o} c̃ ał esc̃ ꝛ c̃.

Gauelł Eigũ ap Canon.

Mađ ap Eigñ ap Keñ ꝛ ꝑcenar̃ sui quoꝫ noĩa patent in Astret Canon teñ dĩ gauelł Meur^{a} ap Canon hic integre redđo de Tunge adinuicem .iiij. đ ob ꝑmio ꝑdc̃o Et n^{ł} aliud hic q$_{9}$ ī Astret Cañ.

Dĩ gaũ Meur^{a} ap Canon.

Mađ ap Dđ ap Eigñ ꝛ ꝑticipes sui quoꝫ nõia patent in Astret Canon teñ duas ꝑtes ꝛ ꝓciam ꝑtem ꝓcie ꝑtis dĩ gauelł Nynyat ap Canoñ redđo de Tunge ꝑmio ꝑdc̃o iij đ ob Et n aliud hic q$_{9}$ in Astret Canon ꝛ ij pt̃ iij ꝑte eiusđ dĩ gaũ sũt esc̃ đni uũ r^{r} inferi^{o}.

Dĩ gaũ Nynyat ap Canon.

[p. 91.]

Et dĩ gauelł que fuit Keneuth ap Canon . et que redđd^{t} de Tunge iiij đ hic est puŕ ꝛ integr̃ escaet̃ đni ŕone mortuoꝫ cont^{a} pac̃ Et inde respondet^{r} inferius cum aliis escaet̃.

Dĩ gauelł Keneuth ap Canoñ.

De sexta ꝑte eiusdem ville . que consistit in tenur^{a} ꝑgenieij Pithle ap Lauwargh̃ sunt octo lecta . que dum fuerunt integr̃ in manibꝫ vere h̃edũ ante conquestum . ꝛ c̃ . reddiderunt de Tunge ꝑ annũ iij. ꝭ .iiij. đ . Videłt quodłt lectũ .v. đ.

Đ ꝑgenie Pithle ap Lauwargh̃.

Inde primũ lectũ quod fuit Ioꝫ ap Pithle ꝛ quod reddidit v. đ de Tunge . integr̃ accidit ad man^{o} đni tanq^{a}m escaet̃ ŕone mortuoꝫ cont^{a} pacem . ꝛ inde respondet^{r} inferius cũ aliis escaet̃.

Wele Ioꝫ ap Pithle.

non h domũ hꝫ domũ

Eigñ ap Ioꝫ ap Caduğ ꝛ Ieu^{a}n Vagh^{a}n ap Ieu^{a}n ap Elidur tenent medieŧ ꝛ quintam ꝑtem de Wele Edenoweñ

ap Pithle redđo de Tungϛ ꝓmīo ꝑdčo iij đ oƀ Et nl ꝓ pastu Prinč hic qꝫ soluūt in Ros Ugħdulas . videłt in villa de Tobritħ nec aliquod aliud ꝰuiciū fač hic neq; ibi nec aliqui alii de ista ꝓgenie nisi pastū Staloñ ꝯ garcōis lucaꝛ̄ cū canibꝫ Pennackew ꝯ Waissioñ bagħeyn . Sčđm quod ħuerunt domos seu tenentes ꝓut alii liƀi de isto Cōmoto . ꝯ vas ps ꝯ xas ps istius Wele sunt escaeť đni Unde respondetr inferius cum aliis escaeť. APP. B c. A.D. 1335. Wele Eden-oweñ ap Pithle.

Ioꝫ ap Dđ ap Bleth teñ međ ꝯ vtam ꝓtem de Wele Ithon ap Pythle redđo de Tungϛ ꝓmīo ꝑdčo .iij. đ oƀ ꝯ ceꝑa ꝰuič ut ꝓx̄m Wele ꝑcedens ꝯ vas ps ꝯ xas ps istius Wele sunt escaeť đni Unde respondetr cum aliis escaeť inferius. Wele Ithon ap Pythle.

non habꝫ domū non ħet domū non
Ieuan ap Wyn ap Mađ Dauid ap Ioꝫ Vaghan Eigñ
ħ domū non ħ domñ nō ħ domū
Gogħ ap Eignoñ Ieuan ap Dđ ap Keñ Ieuan ap Dđ ap Auř
nō ħet domñ ñ ħꝫ domū
Ieuan Vaghan ap Ieuau ap Auř ꝯ Dauid Vaghan ap Dđ ap Meurs tenent međ ꝯ v ꝓtem de Wele Kennyngħ ap Pithle Redđo de Tungϛ ꝓmīo ꝑdčo iij đ oƀ adinuicem ꝯ ceꝑa ꝰuicia ut ꝓx̄ Wele ꝑcedens Et vas ps ꝯ xas ps istius ville sunt escaeť đni Unde respondetr inferius cum ceꝑis escaetis. Wele Kennyg ap Pythle. [p. 92.]

non hꝫ domū hꝫ domū
Hoel ap Dauid ap Doyokϛ M'Jeđ ap Lł ap Meilleř
non hꝫ domū non hꝫ domū
Cađ ap Wylhym ap Cađ ꝯ Griffuth ap Ioꝫ ap Keñ tenent međ ꝯ quintam ꝓtem Wele Cađ ap Pythle redđo de Tungϛ adinuicem ꝓmīo ꝑdčo iij đ oƀ ꝯ ceꝑa ꝰuicia ut ꝓx̄ Wele ꝑcedens Et vas ps ꝯ xas ps istius Wele sūt escaeť đni ut supa . Unde respondetr cum ceꝑis escaetis inferius. Wele Cađ ap Pythle.

hꝫ domū habet domū
Dauid Loyt ap Lauwargħ ꝯ Tuder ap Griff ap Grono tenēt medietatem ꝯ quintam ꝓtem de Wele Edeñ ap Pythle redđo de Tungϛ adinuicem ꝓmīo ꝑdčo .iij. đ oƀ Et ceꝑa ꝰuicia ut alia lecta ꝑcedenť ꝯ tantam ꝓporcōem escaeť hꝫ dñs in ia Wele st in ꝓx̄ Wele ꝑceđ. Wele Edeñ ap Pythle.

APP. B c.

Wele Rissard ap Pythle.

Dauid ap Griff ap Ienn^{a}f tenet međ ⁊ quintam ꝑtem de Wele Rissard ap Pythle Reddendo de Tungꝯ ꝓmĩo ꝓdc̃o .iij. đ oƀ et ceꝓa ꝓuic̃ ut sup^{a} ⁊ v^{a} ꝑs ⁊ x^{a} ꝑs istius Wele est esc̃ đni unde respondet^{r} inferius cū aliis escaetꝯ ⁊ c̃.

h^{3} domū nō h^{3} domū

Grono ap Ieu^{a}n Goch̃ ap Dehewynd Dauid fraꝓ eius et

ñ h^{3} domū

Wele Genythlyn ap Pythle.

Madokꝯ ap Meur^{a} ap Heylin teñ međ ⁊ quintam ꝑtem de Wele Genythlyn ap Pithle redđo de Tungꝯ ꝓmĩo Oĩm Sc̃oꝝ .iij. đ oƀ Et ceꝓa ꝓuic̃ ut sup^{a} ⁊ v^{a} ꝑs ⁊ x^{a} ꝑs sunt esc̃ đni unde respondet^{r} inferius cū aliis escaetꝯ ⁊ c̃.

* * *

[p. 100.] De pastu Princ̃ nichil hic neq; de pastu famuł Princ̃ neq; de aliis pasł q; oĩes tenentes istius ville faciunt hi^{ꝰ} . ꝓuic̃ in aliis villis ut patet ꝑi^{ꝰ} in siḡlis locis ⁊ villatis ꝑ se.

Et sci^{đ} q̃d ꝑpars đni in Prees de escaeł mortuoꝝ cont^{a} pacem . si veř ⁊ directe ꝑporc̃one^{r} continebit in ꝓris boscis ⁊ vastis in uniꝰso Mł iij lxj acř xxvij ꝑtic̃.

Et deinde diꝰsi ꝓodař de Lewenny . Astret Canon . Wennennokꝯ Canon . Beryn . Talabryn ⁊ aliunde habent ꝑ eoꝝ excambꝺ loco pat^{i}mõioꝝ suoꝝ in diꝰsis villatis ab eis captis tempe Comitꝯ Lincolñ—Dccclxxix acř ⁊ xxv ꝑtic̃ terre ⁊ vasti . Et de residuo r^{r} inferi^{ꝰ}.

* * *

APPENDIX B d.

Extents of the Villatæ of Dennant, Grugor, Quilbreyn, Pennaualeth, Penglogor, Hendreuennyth, Prestelegot, and Petrual, where the Progenies of Rand Vaghan ap Asser held.

Rewaynokꝯ Ughalet.

Extenta Commoti de Ughalet facta anno regni Regis Edwardi ꝟcii post conquestum viij^{uo}. APP. B d. A.D. 1335.

Dñs nichil habebit in đnico in Cōmoto de Ughalet nisi escaetas de forisfc̄uris tenencium qui insurrex̄unt in guerris ꝛ obierunt cont^{a} pacem aut de ꝟris fugitiuoꝫ aut alioꝫ tenenciū qui reliquerunt teñ sua in mañ đni ꝑ defc̄u releū vel aliquoꝫ ꝟuicioꝫ ꝑut inferi^{o} patebit in singuł vilł seu locꝯ ubi aliquales ħi^{o} escaeł̄ ptinent đno. [p. 152.]

* * *

Et sciend̄ est q̄d est quedam ꝑgēies libeř tenenc̄ in isto Cōmoto que vocat^{r} ꝑgenies Rand Vagħ ap Asseř que quidem ꝑgenies tenent in diūsꝯ villis istius Cōmoti et tenueř tempe Princip̄ añ conquestum videłt totam villatam de Dennantꝯ totam villam de Grugor . totam villam de Quilbreyn . totam villam de Penplogor ꝛ totam villam de Pennauelet . medieł̄ ville de Hendreuennyth̄ . ꝟciam ꝑtem ville de Prestegot ꝟciam decimam ꝑtem ville de Pet^{u}al . Et om̄es illas villał̄ ꝛ ꝑcelł villataꝫ ꝓdictaꝫ tenuerunt in quatuor lectis videłt Wele Ruathlon ap Rand Wele Idenerth̄ ap Rand Wele Daniel ap Rand ꝛ Wele Kewret ap Rand unde primū Wele diuisum est in quatuor gauelł videlicꝫ Gauel Guyon ap Ruathlon Gauel [p. 154.] [p. 155.]

App. B d. A.D. 1335.

Bleth ap Ruathl Gauel Kewret ap Ruathlon ⁊ gauel Madokꝯ ap Ruathlon . Scdm Wele diuiditr in quatuor gauelł vidłȝ gauel ap Ioẓ ap Idenerth gauel Madoc ap Idenerth gauel Allot ap Idenerth ⁊ Gauel ap Tegwarat ap Idenerth . ꝑciū Wele diuiditr in duas gauelł vȝ . gauel Eigñ ap Daniel gaułt Cadł ap Daniel Et quartum lectū quod est ultimū diuiditr in ij gauelł videlȝ gauelł Griffr̃ ap Kewret ⁊ gauel Kenewrekꝯ ap Kewret . Et sequitr de ꝑporc̃ tenur̃ ⁊ ꝰuic̃ cuiusłt Wele ⁊ cuiusłt eius gauelł in singuł villatꝯ seriatim ꝑ se ⁊ de ꝑporc̃ esc̃ dni in singlis locꝯ ⁊ gauelł scdm ut statim patebit in posteẓ.

Villata de Dennantꝯ.

Ken ap Bleth Vaghan Ioẓ ap Lewelyn ap Bleth Ken . ap Lewelyn ap Bleth Ken . ap Bleth Loyd ⁊ Howel ap Bleth Loid tenent inꝑ se duas gauelł de primo lecto integro vȝ gauelł Guyon ap Rauthlon ⁊ gauelł Bleth ap Rauthlon ⁊ reddunt inꝑ se de Tungꝯ adinuicem ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̃oẓ .ij ꝭ . viij d qa . vȝ . xij d in Dennant .v. d ob̃ qa in Grugor .v. d in Quilbreyn . j d ob̃ qa in Penplogor j. d ob̃ qa in Pennaualet . iij d in Hendreuennyth . ij d ob̃ in Prestlegot ⁊ ob̃ qa in Petrual . Reddunt eciam adinuicē ꝑ pastu Princ̃ ꝑ annū ꝑ oīmibȝ villis ꝓdc̃is vj ꝭ . ad Natał Dni . ij ꝭ ꝑmīo Medie xlme .xvj. d . ꝑmīo Nał sc̃i Ioh̃is Bap̃te . xvj d et ꝑmīo Exalt̃ sce Crucꝯ . xvj d . Et fac̃ alia ꝰuicia in cōi cum aliis lib̃is de Commoto que patebunt inferius in fine Cōmoti.

[p. 156.]

Bleth ap Yeuan ap Madok tenet ꝑciam gauelł eiusdem lecti integr̃ . Redd̃o de Tungꝯ ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̃oẓ xvj. d . Videłt vj. d in Dennant .ij d ob̃ qa in Grugor .ij d ob̃ in Quilbreyn . ob̃ qa in Penplogor . ob̃ qa dī in Pennaualet .j d ob̃ in Hendreuennyth̃ .j d qa in Prestlegot ⁊ qa dī in Petrual . Reddit t̃ ꝑ pastu Princ̃ ꝑ annū ij. ꝭ .iij d ad quatuor ꝑmīos ꝓdict̃ Unde ad Natał Dni ix d . ⁊ quołt alio ꝑmīo vj d . Et fac̃ alia ꝰuic̃ cum aliis libr̃ in cōi ut infra.

Ioẓ ap Dd ap Mad Keñ ap Bleth ap Grono . Ken . ap Ioẓ ap Tudeř Eden . ap Lauwař ap Tudeř ⁊ Bleth fraꝑ eius tenent totam quartam gauelł eiusdem lecti ꝑꝑ inde xvj. ꝑtem que est escař đni ⁊ . ř . de Tungȩ adinuicem ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̄oẓ .xv. đ . Uñ v. đ ob q^{a} in Dennant .j. đ ob q^{a} in Grugor ij đ ob in Quilbreyn . ob q^{a} in Penplogor . ob q^{a} dī in Pennaualet .j. đ . ob in Hendreuennyth .j. đ ob in Prestlegot ⁊ q^{a} dī in Petrual . Et ꝑ pastu Princip̄ ꝑ a^{m} vij. ß .vj. đ . ad quatuor ꝑmīos ꝑdc̄os Videłt ad Natał Dni ij. ß .vj. đ . ⁊ quołt alio ꝑmīo .xx. đ . ⁊ ceꝑa ꝗuic̄ cum aliis in cōi ut infra.

Eigñ Loid ap Ioẓ Grugor ap Bleth Routh fř eius ⁊ Ioẓ fraꝑ eius tenent primam gauelł sc̄di lecti que quidem gau vocat^{r} gauelł Ioẓ ap Idenerth integř . reddendo de Tungȩ ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̄oẓ xvj. đ . Unde .vj. đ . in Dennant ij đ ob q^{a} in Grugor ij. đ ob in Quilbreyn . ob q^{a} in Penplogor . ob q^{a} dī in Pennaualet .j. đ ob in Hendreuennyth .j đ q^{a} in Prestlegot ⁊ q^{a} dī in Petrual . ⁊ ꝑ pastu Princ̄ .vij ß .j. đ . ad quatuor ꝑmīos ꝑdc̄os . Unde ad Festum Natał Dni ij. ß .iiij đ . ⁊ quołt alio ꝑmīo .xix đ ⁊ ceꝑa ꝗuic̄ cū ał in cōi ut inf^{a}.

Et ꝑdc̄i Eigñ Loid ⁊ Bleth ⁊ Ioẓ fr̄es ei^{o} tenent ij ꝑt̄ sc̄de gauelł eiusdem lecti que vocat^{r} Gauł Madokȩ ap Idenerth [p. 157.] redđo de Tungȩ ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̄oẓ .x. đ . ob . Unde .iij. đ q^{a} in Dennant .ij đ in Grugor .ij đ in Quilbreyn ob in Penglogor . q^{a} in Pennaualet .j đ q^{a} in Hendreuennyth .j đ q^{a} in Prestlegot ⁊ q^{a} in Petrual . Et ꝑ pastu Princip̄ ꝑ annū .xv. đ ob ad quatuor ꝑmīos ꝑdc̄os Unde ad Nař Dni .v. đ . ⁊ quołt alio ꝑmīo .iij. đ ob . Et ceꝑa ꝗuic̄ in cōi ut infra.

Bleth ap Ken ap Madokȩ tenet medieť ꝑcie ꝑtis eiusdem gauelł redđo de Tungȩ ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̄oẓ .j· đ . ob q^{a} . Unde ob in Dennant . q^{a} in Grugor . q^{a} in Quilbreyn . dī q^{a} in Penplogor . dī q^{a} in Pennaualet . q^{a} in Hendreuennyth q^{a} in Prestlegot ⁊ nichil in Petrual . Et ꝑ pastu Princ̄ ꝑ annū .ij. đ ob ad quatuor ꝑmīos ꝑdictos videłt ad Nať Dni .j. đ . ⁊ quołt alio ꝑmīo ob ⁊ ceꝑa ꝗuicia ut infra . Et alꝑa medieť

App. B d. A.D. 1335. eiusdem ꝓcie ꝑtis gauelł est escaeť đni ꝛ tenetr in acr̃ cum ceꝛis escaetꝯ inferius.

Item ꝓdc̃us Bleth̃ ap Keñ ap Mađ ꝛ Eigñ ap Yeuan ap Ioẓ . Eignon ap Mađ ap Ieuan ꝛ Dauid ap Heilyn ap Ioẓ tenent quartam ꝑtem ꝓcie gauelł que vocatr gauelł Allet ap Idenerth̃ . redđo de Tungꝯ .iiij. đ ꝓmīo Oīm Sc̃oẓ Uñ .j. đ qa in Dennant . oƀ qa in Grugor . oƀ qa in Quilbreyn . dī qa in Penplogor . dī qa in Pennaualet . qa in Hendreuennyth̃ . oƀ in Prestlegot ꝛ qa in Petrual . Et ꝑ pastu Princ̃ ꝑ am ij ꝭ oƀ ad quatuor ꝓmīos ꝓdc̃os . Unde ad Natał Dni .viij. đ ꝛ quołt alio ꝓmīo .v. đ oƀ ꝛ ceꝛa ꝓuic̃ cum aliis in cōi ut infa . Et .iij. ꝑtꝯ eiusdem gavelł sunt esc̃ đni uñ r inꝓ acr̃ inferi9.

Bleyth̃ ap Eigñ Voil ap Ioẓ tenet .ij. ꝑt̃ quarte gauelł eiusdem lecti que vocatr gauel Tegwaret ap Idenerth reddendo de Tungꝯ .x. đ oƀ qa . Unde .iij. đ qa in Dennant .j. đ oƀ qa in Grugor .ij đ in Quilbreyn . oƀ in Penplogor .
[p. 158.] qa in Pennaualet .j. đ qa in Hendreuennyth .j. đ oƀ in Prestlegot ꝛ qa in Petrual . Et ꝑ pasť Princ̃ ꝑ annū .v. ꝭ .ix. đ . ad quatuor ꝓmīos ꝓdc̃os . Videłt ad Natał Dni .xxij. đ . oƀ ꝛ quołt alio ꝓmīo .xv. đ oƀ . Et ceꝛa ꝓuicia in cōi ut infra . Et ꝓcia ꝑs istius gauelł est escaeť đni ꝛ r inde inꝓ ꝓr̃ inferius.

Ioẓ ap Ieuan ap Keneuth . Tuder fr eius . Yeuan ap Edeñ ap Mađ . Ken . fraꝓ eius . Griffith̃ ap Tuder ap Mađ . Edeñ Grono ꝛ Yenaf fr̃es eius Ioẓ ap Eigñ ap Ioẓ Eignoñ Gogh̃ ap Dd ap Eigñ . Ith̃ ꝛ Ken . fres eius tenent septem ꝑtes ꝛ . lxiiijtaꝫ ꝑtem prime gauelle ꝓcii lecti . que quidem gauella vocatr gauel Eignoñ ap Danyel . redđo de Tungꝯ ꝓmīo Oīm Scoẓ .ij. ꝭ .iiij. đ oƀ Uñ .xj. đ oƀ in Dennant .v. đ qa in Grugor .v. đ qa in Quilbreyn .j. đ qa in Penplogor .j. đ qa in Pennaualet .ij. đ qa in Hendreuennyth̃ .j. đ in Prestlegot ꝛ oƀ qa in Petrual . Et ꝑ pastu Princ̃ ꝑ annū .vij. ꝭ .v. đ ad iiijor ꝓmīos ꝓdictos videłt ad Natał Dni .ij. ꝭ .v. đ . ꝛ quołt alio ꝓmīo xx. đ . Et ceꝛa ꝓuic̃ cum aliis in cōi

ut infra . Et .viij^{a} ps . eiusdem gauelł est esc̃ đni p̄t inde viij^{am} ptem . ꝛ respondet^{r} inde inferius in̄ firm̃ ac̃r ꝛ c̃.

Item Dd ap Ioẓ ap Cadugan . Bleth̃ ap Ioẓ Vagh^{a}n ap Ioẓ Grono ap Keneuth ap Ioẓ Mađ fra^{t} eius Bleth̃ ap Mađ ap Ioẓ . Keñ fra^{t} eius Dauid ap Mađ Duy ap Ioẓ ꝛ Mađ Loyd fra^{t} eius tenent in^{t} [se] quartam ptem . ꝛ viij^{am} ptem sc̃de gauelle eiusdem lecti que vocat^{r} gauel Cađ ap Danyel . redđo de Tunge p̄mio Oīm Sc̃oẓ xij đ . Unde .iiij. đ in Dennant .ij đ q^{a} in Grugor .ij đ q^{a} in Quilbreyn . q^{a} dī in Penglogor . q^{a} dī in Pennaualet .j. đ in Hendreuennyth̃ .j. đ in Prestlegot . ꝛ oƀ in Petrual . Et p pasť Princ̃ p annū .iij. s̄ .ij. đ q^{a} ad .iiij. p̄mios p̄dc̃os videłt ad Natał Dni .xij. đ . oƀ q^{a} . et quołt alio p̄mio .viij. đ oƀ ꝛ ceťa ꝟuicia in cōi cum aliis infra . Et medi^{t} eiusdem gauelł est esc̃ đni ꝛ respondet^{r} inde inferius in^{t} firm̃ ac̃r . Et .viij^{a} ps eiusdem gauelł est in mañ đni a tempe Comit^{e} Lincolñ que fuit Keñ ap M^{o}ditḥ ap Ioẓ qui utlagať fuit p feloñ ꝛ c̃ . Et allocat^{r} illa ps filiis Yeuan ap Lauwargh̃ liƀo de Lewenny in excambƀ p hereditať sua iƀm. [p. 159.]

Item de quarto lecto quod diuidit^{r} in duas gauelł . prima gauelł que vocat^{r} Gauelł Griffri ap Keuret est penit^{o} in mañ đni ꝛ puř Esc̃ ꝛ respondet^{r} inde inferius in^{t} firmas acraẓ . ꝛ c̃.

Item Keñ ap Lauwař ap Keñ . Caduc̃ ꝛ Yeuan fr̃es eius tenent quinq; ptes sc̃de gauelle eiusdem lecti que vocat^{r} gauel Keñ ap Keuret . redđo de Tunge p̄mio Oīm Sc̃oẓ .ij s̄ .iij đ . oƀ q^{a} . Unde .x. đ oƀ in Dennant .v. đ q^{a} in Grugor .v. đ q^{a} in Quilbreyn . oƀ dī q^{a} in Penglogor . oƀ q^{a} in Pennaualet .j. đ oƀ q^{a} in Hendreuennyth̃ .ij đ in Prestlegot^{e} ꝛ oƀ dī q^{a} in Petrual Et p pastu Princ̃ p annū vij. s̄ .x. đ . ad iiij^{or} p̄mios p̄dc̃os videłt ad Natał Dni .ij s̄ .vij đ . ꝛ quołt alio p̄mio .xxj đ . ꝛ ceťa suicia in cōi cum aliis ut infra . Et vj^{ta} ps eiusdem gauelle est esc̃ đni uñ r^{r} inferius in^{t} firmas ac̃r.

s̄s Sm^{a} Tunge p̄genieij Rand in diu^{s}e villať Commoti

App. Bd. A.D. 1335. de Ughalet p annum ꝑmino Oīm Sc̄oꝝ .xiiij. ß .v. đ ob̄ qᵃ. De quibus extᵃhendi sunt ab ista smᵃ hic ꝛ ponend̄ in aliis villatis put pbatʳ supius in pcelt singulaꝝ gauellaꝝ—ix ß . j đ ob̄ qᵃ.

ßs Et sic restat Smᵃ tocius Tungɇ villate de Dennant p annum—v. ß .iiij. đ.

ßs Smᵃ pastᵒ Princ̄ in ꝑmis { Natal Dni . xvj ß . viij đ qᵃ / Med̄ xlᵐᵉ . xj ß . iij đ ob̄ / Nat̄ sc̄i Iohis . xj ß . iij đ ob̄ / Ex̄ sc̄e Crucɇ . xj ß. iij đ ob̄. } Sic p aᵐ .l. ß .vj đ ob̄ qᵃ.

* * *

[p. 161.]

Villata de Grugor.

Tota villata de Grugor que con̄t de ꝑris ꝛ vastis .CCClviij. ac̄r dī ꝛ dī rod̄ consistit in tenurᵃ pgenieij Rand Bagh̄ ap Asser in iiijᵒʳ lectɇ ut pz supius in Dennant et eoꝝ ꝟuic̄ plenius patent in ptic̄lis supius in Dennant . Unde pgenies Rauthlon ap Rand quoꝝ noīa inscribuntʳ sr̄iᵒ in Dennant teñ hic inꝑ se ut patz supius ꝟ totū Wele Rauthlon ap Rand quod consistit in iiijᵒʳ gauelt . reddendo de Tungɇ put patz ib̄m in ptic̄lis .x. đ . ꝛ nichil aliud hic q, om̄ia alia eoꝝ ꝟuic̄ inserunt̄ in Dennant Et dn̄s nullam h̄et escaet̄ in isto Wele.

Wele Rauthloñ ap Rand.

Item Wele Idenerth̄ ap Rand quod consistit ptit̄ in iiijᵒʳ gauelt ꝟ pgēies ꝑdicti Idenerth̄ quoꝝ noīa plenius patent in Dennant tenēt unam gauelt integr̄ ꝛ quinq, ptes sc̄de gauelt ꝛ quartam ptem ꝟcie gauelt ꝛ eciam duas ptes quarte gauelle . Reddendo de Tungɇ inꝑ se hic put pleniᵒ patet in ptic̄lis sepatɇ in Dennant vijđ. ob̄ ꝛ ceꝑa ꝟuic in Dennant Et sic qᵃi quarta ps ꝛ .xvjᵃ. ps istius Wele vel qᵃi una gauella ꝛ quarta ps istius gauelle est escaet̄ đni Unde respondetʳ inferius ꝛ c̄.

Wele Idernetħ ap Rand.

Item de Wele Danyel ap Rand quod consistit in ij gauelt ꝟ pgenies ꝑdicti Danyel quoꝝ noīa patent in Dennant tenent septem ptes prime gauelt ꝛ mediet sc̄de gauelt Red-

Wele Daniel ap Rand.

dendo de Tunge ꝑt patꝫ in ptičlis in Dennant .vij đ ob̃. Et ceꝑa ꝟuič in Dennant . Et sic quarta ꝑs ꝛ .xvj^{a} ꝑs istius Wele aut medieŧ ꝛ viij^{a} ꝑs uni^{o} gauelŧ est esc̃ đni Unde respondet^{r} inferius ꝛ c̃. APP. B d. A.D. 1335.

Item de Wele Keuret ap Rand quod consistit in .ij. gauelŧ ꝑgēies dicti Keuret quoꝝ noïa patent in Dennant tenent quinque ꝑtes istius gauelle . reddendo de Tunge ꝑt patꝫ in [p. 162.] ptic^{l} in Dennant .v. đ q^{a} ꝛ ceꝑa ꝟuič in Dennant Et sic̃ me^{d} ꝛ vj^{ta} ꝑs alꝑius medietate istius Wele aut eciam .j. gau^{ll}. integr̃ ꝛ vj^{ta}. ꝑs alꝑius gauelŧ sunt esc̃ đni Uñ respondet^{r} infer^{o}.

Sm^{a} Tunge de Grugor .ij ꝭ .vj đ q^{a}.

Et erit ꝟporc̃o escaete đni de ꝑris boscꝭ ꝛ vaste forisfc̃is in Grugor ꝭcđm veram ꝑporcõem .Cviij. acr̃ j. rod̃ ꝛ .xij. ptič De quibꝫ allocant^{r} [&c]

Villata de Quilbreyn. [p. 163.]

Et scienđ q̃d tota villata de Quilbreyn consistit in tenura ꝑgenieij Rand Vagȟ supius in quatuor lectis Et quodŧ lectū diuidit^{r} in tot gauellis ꝛ totidem ꝑporcõibꝫ ꝛ ꝑ easdem ꝑporcões accidit escaeta đni sicut in Dennant vel Grugor supius . Et cont̃ dc̃a villata in ꝑris boscꝭ ꝛ vaste . M^{l} Clxviij. acr̃ ꝛ .iij. rod̃ unde sequit^{r} primo de ꝟuič viuoꝝ ꝛ eoꝝ tenur̃ ꝛ postea de ꝑr̃ mortuoꝝ cont^{a} pacem . que sunt escaeta đni ꝛ c̃.

ꝑgenies Rauthlon ap Rand quoꝝ nõia patent in Dennant tenent totū Wele Rauthlon ap Rand in iiij^{or} gauelŧ . reddendo de Tunge .x. đ ꝛ ceꝑa ꝟuič in Dennant Et nulla est escaeta in isto Wele.

Item ꝑgenies Idenertȟ quoꝝ noïa patent in Dennant tenent q^{a}i medietatem ꝛ .iij. ꝑtes quarte ꝑtis de Wele ꝟdči Idenertȟ quod ꝑtit^{r} in .iiij^{or}. gauellis . reddendo de Tunge inꝑ se vij đ ob̃ ꝛ ceꝑa ꝟuic in Dennant . Et sic quarta ꝑs istius Wele ꝛ quarta ꝑs alꝑius quarte ꝑtis eiusdem sūt esc̃ đni . Uñ r^{r} inferius.

APP. B d. A.D. 1335. Item ꝑgenies Danyel ap Rand quoꝝ noïa patent in Dennant tenent medieť ꝛ iij ꝑtes quarte ꝑtis istius Wele . reddo de Tungɋ hic vij đ oƀ ꝛ ceꝑa ꝰuiĉ in Dennant . Et iiij^{ta} ꝑs ꝛ .xvj^{a}. ꝑs istius Wele est esĉ đni Unde respondet^{r} inferius.

Item ꝑgenies Keuret ap Rand quoꝝ noïa patent in Dennant tenent v$\bar{3}$. ꝑtes medietatis istius Wele reddendo de Tungɋ hic .v. đ q^{a} ꝛ ceꝑa ꝰuic in Dennant Et sic medieť ꝛ vj^{ta} ꝑs alꝑius medietatis istius Wele est escaeꝑ đni . Unde respondet^{r} inferius.

Sm^{a} Tungɋ de Quilbreyn ꝑmio Oïm Sĉoꝝ .ij s vj đ q^{a}.

[p. 164.] Et est ꝑpars đni in villa de Quilbreyn .CCCliij. acr̃ .ix. ꝑtiĉ dï que appruant^{r} inferius.

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Villata de Pennaualeth̄.

[p. 165.] Villata de Pennaualet que conť in ꝑr̃ boscꝰ ꝛ vastɋ .vij^{c} lj acr̃ dï consistit in om̄ibꝫ porcõibꝫ in tenura ꝑgenieij Rand ap Asser Et in tot lectɋ ꝛ tot gauelł sicut ꝑx̃ villať ꝑcedens de Quilbreyn Et om̄es P)dar̃ qui tenent in Dennant ꝛ Grugor ꝛ Quilbreyn tenent hic in quatuor lectis ut ibi Et redđ de Tungɋ inꝑ se ꝑ annū ꝑmio Oïm Sĉoꝝ .vij đ oƀ . Unde Priodar̃ de Wele Rauthlon ap Randđ .iij đ oƀ . P)odar̃ de Wele Idenerth ap Rand .j đ oƀ ꝛ dï q^{a} . Priodar̃ de Wele Daniel ap Randđ .j đ oƀ ꝛ dï q^{a} ꝛ Priodar̃ de Wele Keuret ap Randđ . oƀ q^{a} . Et ceꝑa ꝰuiĉ in Dennant Et sunt escaeť đni ḥic q^{a}i unū Wele ꝛ viij^{a}. ꝑs ꝛ xij^{a} ꝑs istius Wele que continent quartam ꝑtem ꝛ xxxij^{dam} ꝑtem ꝛ xlviij^{am} ꝑtem istius ville.

ꝭs Sm^{a} Tungɋ de Pennaualet ꝑmīo Oïm Sĉoꝝ . vij đ oƀ.

Et sic est porĉo escaeť đni in villa de Pennaualet ꝭcđm ꝑticipacõem directam .CCxxvij. acr̃ .ij. ꝑtiĉ dï.

D quibꝫ allocant^{r} diꝰsɋ Priodar̃ de Arquedlokɋ Hanodregẖhaitẖ in excamƀ ꝑ eoꝝ[1] iƀm .Cxlviij acr̃ dï Et xv acr̃ ꝑre arentant^{r} ut patebit inferius.

* * *

[1] So in the MS.

Villata de Penglogor.

Tota villata de Penglogor consistit in tenura ꝑdc̃e ꝓgeñ Rand ap Asser in tot lectꝯ sicut ꝓx[a] villata ꝓcedens Et iidem qui tenent villaī de Dennant . Grugor . Quilbreyn . et Pennaualet tenent inꝑ se totam istam villatam ꝑꝓ porcõem escaeī đni ut patꝫ inferius �según reddunt per annū de Tungꝯ ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ vij đ ob̃ . Unde Preodaī de Wele Ruathlon ap Rand .iij đ q[a] . Priodaī de Wele Idenerth̃ ap Rand ij. đ . Priodaī de Wele Daniel ap Rand .ij đ ob̃ dī q[a] ꝗ Priodaī de Wele Keuret ap Rand ob̃ ꝗ dī q[a] Et facient ceꝑa ꝯuic̃ in Dennant . Et quarta ꝓs ꝗ .xxxij[da]. ꝓs ꝗ xlviij[a] ꝓs istius ville est escaeī đni uñ r[r] inferius.

ꝧs Sm[a] Tungꝯ villate de Penglogor ꝑ anñ ꝑio Oīm Sc̃oꝝ —vij[đ] ob̃.

Et conī tota villata de Penglogor .Cxxviij. acr̃ Et inde ꝓpars escaeī đni conī de ꝑrꝯ ꝗ vastꝯ . ꝗ c̃ .xxxviij. acr̃ dī ꝗ xxvj ꝓtic̃ dimiđ.

* * *

Villata de Hendreuennyth̃.

Villata de Hendreuennyth̃ conī in ꝑris vastꝯ .CCix acr̃ iij. rod̃ cuius medieī consistit in tenura ꝓgc̃ii Rand Vaghan supius in .iiij[or]. lectꝯ ꝗ alia medieī est de tenura ꝓgenieij Rees Gogh̃ in .j°. lecto . Unde primo sequit[r] de ꝓparte prima ꝗ .ij[do]. de ij[da].

D medieī villate de Hendreuennyth̃ que consistit in ꝓgenie Rand Eadem ꝓgenies tenet medietatem illam ꝑꝓ inde escaeī ut patebit inpostea in tot lectꝯ ꝗ tot gauelī ꝓut tenent in Dennant vel aliis villatis ꝑdictꝯ Et reddunt de Tungꝯ inꝑ se ꝓut patet ꝑ ꝓtic̃las specificatas ꝧr[o] in Dennant .xv đ ob̃ . Et fac̃ ceꝑa ꝯuic̃ in Dennant ꝗ c̃ . Et reddidit ista medietas de Tungꝯ ꝑ annū dum fuit integr̃ in mañ ꝑdicī ꝓgeñ .xx. đ.

ꝧs Sm[a] Tungꝯ ꝓgeñ Rand Vagh̃ hic—xv đ ob̃.

Villata de Prestelegotꝯ.

App. B d. A.D. 1335. [p. 169.] Villata de Prestlegotꝯ que uniu̇salip̄ contꝫ .DCxxx. acr̄ ꝑre bosc̄ ꝯ vast̄ fuit ꝓtit̄ in .iij. ꝓtes . Uñ p'ma ꝑcia ꝓs consistit in tenura ꝓgeniei Randꝺ Vagħ ꝯ reddidᵗ illa ꝑcia ꝓs dū fuit integᵃ in tenura illius ꝓgēiei .xx. ꝺ . ꝓ annū . Et alia ꝑcia ꝓs consistit in tenura ꝓgēiei Idenertħ que sit̄r dū fuit integr̄ r̄ de Tungꝯ .xx. ꝺ . Et ultīa ꝑcia ꝓs fuit in tenura ꝓgēiei Keneuercħ ap Maer ꝯ c̄ . que sit̄r r̄ de Tungꝯ dū fuit integr̄ .xx. ꝺ . ꝓ annū . Et oms̄ ꝑdce ꝓgeñ sūt lib̄e . Uñ seqʳ distinc̄o p'mo de p'ma ꝓgēie . sc̄do de sc̄da . ꝑo de ꝑtia.

ꝑpars ꝓgēiei Randꝺ Vagħ. ꝑgeñ Randꝺ Vagħ quoꝝ noīa patent in Dennantꝯ tꝫ hic in .iiij. lect̄ p'mā ꝓpartem istius ville . Vidit ꝑciam ꝓtem excepť inde .iiij^{ta}. ꝓte ꝯ .xxxij^{da}. ꝓteꝯ xlviij^{a} ꝓte que sūt escaet̄ ꝺni r̄one mortuoꝝ contᵃ pacem . Et reddūt ꝑdc̄i Priodar̄ nūc de Tungꝯ inꝑ se ꝓ annū ꝑio Oīm Sc̄oꝝ ꝓut pꝫ ꝓ ꝓcelt̄ distinc̄ in Dennantꝯ .xiiij. ꝺ qᵃ . Et nˡ aliud hic q̄ in Dennant supius.

* * *

[p. 171.] s̄s Smᵃ Tungꝯ de Prestlegotꝯ .iij s̄ .ij ꝺ.

s̄s Smᵃ pastus Princip̄ in ꝑm̄is

Natal̄ Dni	.xxiij. ꝺ o.
Medꝺ xlᵉ	.xxiij. ꝺ o.
Nat̄ sc̄i Ioħ	.xxiij d . o
Exaltac̄o sc̄e crucꝯ	.xxiij ꝺ o.

Smᵃ ꝓ aᵐ viij. .ix. ꝺ.

Et sciꝺ qꝺ de p'ma ꝑcia ꝓte villate de Prestlegotꝯ que est de tenura ꝓgēiei Randꝺ Vagħ ꝓtinent ꝺno de escaet̄ ꝯ c̄ . sc̄dam[1] veram ꝓticipac̄om de ꝑris bosc̄ ꝯ vastꝯ lxiij acr̄ dī .j. rodꝺ dī ꝯ .x. ꝓtic̄.

Distinc̄o escaete. Iť̄m de .ij^{da}. ꝓparte eiusꝺm ville que est de tenura triū lectoꝝ Madokꝯ ap Ideñtħ . Heilyn ap Ideñtħ ꝯ Eigñ ap Ideñtħ ꝓtinent ꝺno de escaet̄ .Cj. acr̄ dī ꝯ .iiij. ꝓtic̄ ꝑre bosc̄ ꝯ vast̄.

Iť̄m de ultīa ꝓparte eiusꝺm ville que est de tenura Keneuth ap Maer ꝯ Res ap Hunytħ ꝓtinēt ꝺno eoꝺm mº .lxxij. acr̄ .j. rodꝺ dī ꝯ .x. ꝓtic̄ . Et sic est smᵃ tocius escaet̄

[1] So in the MS.

c
.ij. xxvij. acr̃ .j. rod dī ⁊ .iiij. ptic̃ que appᵘantʳ ut statī patebᵗ īposterū.

* * *

Villata de Petrual.

[p. 180.]

Villata de Petrual que contȝ .M¹.C.lxx acr̃ . consistit in .xiij. lectis liƀoȝ de quibȝ statim patebit in posterū . Vidłt de quołt lecto ꝑ se.

Priodar̃ de ꝑgēie Randˊ Vagȟ quoȝ noïa patent in Dennant tenent hic tantam ꝑtem in .iiij. lecť qᵃntam tenent s̄rius in Dennant . n̄ tenent hic qᵃi ꝑ uno lecto quod vocatᵃ Wele Wiryon Randˊ . ꝓciam decīam ꝑtem istius ville . Reddo de Tungȩ hic ꝑut pȝ in ꝑticlis specificatȩ in Dennant .iiij. d . ob ꝓmīo oīm Sc̃oȝ . ⁊ nˡ aliud hic quia oīa alia eoȝ ꝓuic̃ oꝓantʳ s̄rius in Dennant . Et qᵃuis reddant hic plenū Tungȩ : nˡoˢ quarta ps ⁊ .xxxijᵃ. ps ⁊ .xlviijᵃ. ps istius lecti hic est escaeť ḋni . sic̃ de eoȝ tenura in aliis villis . Et iñ r̃ndetʳ inferius cū ceteris escaetȩ ⁊ c̃.

Wele Wyrion Randˊ.

* * *

APPENDIX B e.

Extent of the Villata of Wickwere with the Hamlets of Boydroghyn and Kilmayl, in which the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk held.

Roos Ysdulas.

APP. B e. A.D. 1335. [p. 201.]

Extenta Cōmoť de Roos Ysdulas fca a°. Regę Eę iij^{cii}. p^{o} cōq̄ .viij°.

Sciend q̄d dn̄s nichil ħebit de veꝑi dōico nūc in dnico suo n^{i} Manerių de Dynnorbyn Vaur quod extendit^{r} inferius in serie Cōmoť cū villať de Dynnorbyn Vaur ut inferi^{o} patebit in suo cursu ꝛt c̄.

Villata de Wyckewere cū suis Hamellis de Boydrogħyn ꝛt Kilmayl.

Villata de Wyckwere cū Hamelť de Boydrogħyn ꝛt Kylmayl consistebat tempib3 P^{i}ncipū ante conquestū in octo lectis . Unde .vj. lecť fuerūt in ōib3 locis ꝑdc̄is vidit in Wyckewere Boydrogħyn ꝛt Kylmayl . Et de hiis .vj. lectę unū lectū fuit penit^{o} in tenura liƀoꝛ quod vocat^{r} Wele Lauwargħ ap Kendelykę . Secundū lectu consistit vidit due ꝑtes in tenura liƀoꝛ ꝛt ꝓcia ꝑs in tenura Natīoꝛ quod lectū vocat^{r} Wele Morythe.

T^{o})ciū lectū consistit vid3 due ꝑtes in tenura liƀoꝛ ꝛt ꝓcia ꝑs in tenura Natīoꝛ quod quidē lectū vocat^{r} Wele Peidyth Mogħ.

Ceꝑa tria lecta de ꝑdc̄is .vj. lectis fuerunt integre in tenura Natīoꝛ . Unde p^{i}mū lectū vocat^{r} Wele Breyntę . Secundū lectū vocat^{r} Wele Meynon et ꝓciū vocat^{r} Wele Bothloyn ꝛt duo ultīa lecta de ꝑdc̄is .viij. lectis fuerunt tantūmodo

in villa de Boydroghyn ꝛ consistūt pēit⁹ in tenura Natīoꝫ . Unde p'mū lectū vo^r Wele Anergħ Cuyrdyon, et ſcđm lectū vocat^r Wele Thlowthon . Unde sequit^r de quoꝫt lecto ſiatim ſcđm q̄d ꝑmittit^r ꝛ de nōibꝫ inde tenenꝫ cū eoꝫ ſuiꝯ ꝛ deinde de ꝑporcōibꝫ đni que sibi attingunt ꝑtim r̄one tenenciū morienciū cont^a pacem, ꝑtim ꝑ defc̄u ſuicioꝫ ꝑtī ꝑ defc̄u heredū in ꝓcio g^adu v̄l infra ꝓciū g^adū ꝛ c̄. APP. Be. A.D. 1335.

De p'mo lecto quod consistit tōliꝫ in tenura liƀoꝫ ꝛ quod est in om̄ibꝫ vilꝫ ꝛ hamelꝫ ſiunt tria lecta seu tres gauelle vidꝫt Wele Risshard ap Lauwargħ . Wele Moridykꝙ ap Law^h et Wele Kandalo ap Lauwargħ, et sequit^r p'mo ⁄ de primo, sc̄do ⁄ de sc̄do, ꝓcio ⁄ de ꝓcio ꝛ c̄.

De Wele Risshard ap Lauwargħ fiunt tres gauelꝫ, vidꝫt gauelꝫ Madokꝙ ap Risshard gauelꝫ Kendalo ap Risshard ꝛ Gauelꝫ Keñ ap Risshard.

Gronou ap Madokꝙ Vagh^an . Eynon Routħ fr̄ eius Heilyn ap Eynon ap Risshard . Heilyn ap Groñ ap Eynon Bletħ ꝛ Ithel fres eius ꝛ Heilyn ap Eynon Gogħ tenent gauelꝫ Madokꝙ ap Risshard integr̄ redđo de Tungꝙ inꝑ se ꝑ a^m. ꝓ̄io oīm Sc̄oꝫ .viij. đ . Et ꝑ pasꝫ P'ncipis ad Naꝫ Dni .xij. đ . Međ .xl^a. vj. đ Et ad fm Naꝫ Sc̄i Ioħis Bapꝫ .vij. đ . oƀ . Et ad fm Exaltacōis sc̄e Crucis .vj. đ . Et facient ceꝑa ſuicia cū aliis liƀis istius Cōmoꝫ in cōi de quibꝫ patebit in fiñ isti⁹ Cōmoꝫ inꝑ cōes consueꝫ ꝛ c̄. [p. 202.] Gauelꝫ Madok ap Risshard.

Madokꝙ ap Heilyn ap Howel . Ithel ap Ioꝫ ap Kendalo Griff ꝛ Tuder fr̄es eius . Dauid ap Kendalo ap Ioꝫ . Dauid Vagh^an ap Dauid ap Ioꝫ ꝛ Tuder fr eius tenent gauelꝫ Kendalo ap Risshard integr̄ redđo inꝑ se de Tungꝙ ꝓ̄io ꝑdc̄o .v. đ oƀ . Et ceꝑa ſuiꝯ in oībꝫ ut Gauelꝫ ꝑx̄ ꝑcedens. Gauelꝫ Kendalo ap Risshard.

Keñ Vagh^an ap Keñ ap Madokꝙ . Eynon fr eius . Ioꝫ ap Madokꝙ ap Ioꝫ Iů fr eius . Dauid Loyd ap Kendalo . Ioꝫ fr eius . Mađ ap Keñ ap Eynon . Dauid ꝛ Iů fr̄es eius . Madokꝙ ap Dauid ap Eynon . Ada ꝛ Dauid fr̄es eius ꝛ ꝑdc̄us Heilyn ap Eynon ap Risshard ꝛ nepotes sui supius in gauelꝫ Madokꝙ

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tenent tres ꝑtes gauelł Keñ ap Risshard redđo inꝑ se de Tungꝯ ꝓio ꝑdčo .vj. đ . Et ꝑ pasť Pincipis ꝑ am. ad Nať Dni .ix. đ . ꝓic Međ .xle . iiij. đ oƀ . ꝓio Nať sči Ioñis Baꝑte .v. đ oƀ qa . Et ꝓio Exalť sče Crucis .iiij. đ . oƀ . Et facient ceꝑa ꝟuicia in cõi ut supa . Et qarta ꝑs istius gauelł est escaeta đni . Unde ñnebitr inferius cũ ceꝑis escaetis.

Gauelł Keñ ap Risshard.

Ilłm de sčdo Wele quod est extractũ de Wele Lauwargħ ap Kendalykꝯ et quod supius nũcupatr Wele Moridykꝯ ap Lauwargħ nulla extahitr gauelł ideo dicitr id idem Wele nisi ut una gauelł unde Kendalo ap Madokꝯ ap Eynon . Eynon ap Groñ ap Griff . Lauwargħ fr eius . Ioꝝ ap Lauwargħ ap Griff ꝛ Madokꝯ ap Heylyn ap Griff tenent gauelł Moridykꝯ ap Lauwargħ integr̃ r̃ de Tung̃ inꝑ se .xij. đ . oƀ . qa . Et ꝑ pasť Pincipis ad Nať Dni .xij. đ . sčdo ꝓio vj. đ . ꝓcio ꝓio .vij. đ . oƀ . Quarto ꝓio .vj. đ . Et facient ceꝑa ꝟuicia in cõi ut supa.

Wele vel Gauelł Moridyk ad Lauwargħ.

Ilłm de ꝓcio Wele exacto de Wele Lauwargħ ap Kendelyk fiunt due gauelł vidłt Gauella Ioꝝ ap Kendalo ꝛ Gauelł Dauid ap Kendalo que đr Gauelł Kyloen ut statim subsequitr.

Groñ ap Eynon ap Madokꝯ . Eynon ap Ioꝝ ꝛ Iua fr̃es eius ꝛ Heilyn ap Eynon ap Howel tenent gauelł Ioꝝ ap Kendalo integr̃ redđo de Tungꝯ inꝑ se ꝓio ꝑdčo .viij. đ . Et ꝑ pasť Pincipis ꝑ am ad Nať Dni ꝛ quołt ao ꝓio.

Gaũ Ioꝝ ap Kendalo.

Ilłm Ithel ap Eynon ap Kendalo ꝛ Phelip fr eio tenent .vjtã. ꝑtem gauelle Kyloen redđo de Tungꝯ ꝓio ꝑdčo .j. đ . oƀ . Et ꝑ pasť Pincipis ꝑ am. pmo ꝓio .ij. đ . sčdo ꝓio .j. đ qa . ꝛ qarto[1] ꝓio .j. đ . Et fač alia ꝟuič in cõi ut supa Et. vꝝ. ꝑtes istio gauelł sunt escaeť đni . Unde ñndebitr inferius ꝛ č.

Gaũ Kyloen

De duabꝫ ꝑtibꝫ sčdi lecti quod vocatr Wele Moroythe . quod est in villa de Wickewere ꝛ hamelł de Kilmayl ꝛ Boydroghyn sunt qatuor vidłt due gauelł Meiller ap Morroyth ꝛ due gauelł Lauwargħ ap Morroyth . Et de ꝓcia ꝑte istio lecti que est in tenura Natīoꝝ ñndetr inferio īꝑ Natīos ꝛ č.

ꝑporčo liƀoꝫ de Wele Moroythħ.

[1] So in the MS.

Ioẓ ap Eynon ap Ienaf tenet ꝟciā ꝑtē . j^{s} . gauelł Meiller ap Morroyth̄ . r̃ . de Tungẹ ꝟio ꝺdc̃o .iiij. ꝺ . ob̄ . Et ꝑ pas̄t P^{i}ncipis ꝑ a^{m}. vidłt p^{i}mo ꝟio .iiij. ꝺ . Secundo ꝟio .ij. ꝺ . ꝟcio ꝟio .ij. d . ob̄ . q^{a}rto ꝟio .j. ꝺ . Et fac̃ ceꝟa ꝟuic̃ in cōi ut sup^{a} Et una gauelł integr̃ ꝛ .ij^{e}. ꝑtes de .ij^{bꝫ}. gauelł ꝺc̃is sunt escaeť ꝺni Unde r̃nde^{r} inferius.

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ij^{e} gauelł Meiller ap Moroyth̄. [p. 203.]

Eynon ap Kendalo ap Keñ Pithle ꝛ Ioẓ fr eius tenent medietatē unius gauelł que fuit Lauwargh̄ ap Moroythe . r̃ . de Tung̃ ꝟio ꝺdc̃o .vj. ꝺ . q^{a} . Et ꝑ pastu P^{i}ncipis p^{i}mo ꝟio .vj. ꝺ . Sc̃do ꝟio .iij. ꝺ . ꝟcio ꝟio .iij. ꝺ . ob̄ q^{a} ꝛ q̄rto ꝟio .iij. ꝺ . Et ceꝟa ꝟuicia ut sup^{a} Et alꝟa meꝺ eiusꝺm gauelle est escaeta ꝺni Unde r̃ndebit^{r} inferius.

Gaū Eynon ap Lauwargh̄ Thleth̄.

Rees ap Meiller ap Heilyn . Groñ ꝛ Lł fr̃es eius . Meiller ap Ioẓ ap Heilyn Dauid Gronou ꝛ Ioẓ fr̃es eius . Meiller ap Lewel ap Heilyn Eynon ꝛ M^{r}edyth fr̃es eius Iū ap Ioẓ ap Lauwargh̄ ꝛ Dauid fr eius tenent medietatē gauelł Ioẓ ap Lauwargh̄ . r̃ . de Tung̃ ꝟio ꝺdc̃o .vij. ꝺ . Et ꝑ pastu P^{i}ncipis ad quemłt ꝓminū sicut ꝑx^{a} gauelł ꝓcedens . Et alꝟa medietas eiusdem gauelł est escaeta ꝺni . Unde r̃ndebit^{r} inferius.

Gaū Ioẓ ap Lauwargh̄.

Ꝓporc̃o liƀoẓ de Wele Priditħ Mough̄.

De duabꝫ ꝑtibꝫ Wele quod vocat^{r} Pidrith̄ Mough̄ nō fit n^{i} una gauelł liƀoẓ unde statim subsequit^{r} . Et de ꝟcia ꝑte eiusdem Wele que cōstitit in tenura Natīoẓ unde r̃ndebit^{r} inferius inꝟ Natīos sc̃do.

Ienaf map Ithel ap Madok . Ririth̄ ꝛ Gurg̃ fr̃es eius . Groñ Vagh^{a}n ap Groñ ap Madok . Groñ ap Ioẓ Loyd . Ioẓ ap Ririth̄ ap Groñ . Meiller ap Rees . Groñ ꝛ Ieū fr̃es eius . Ioẓ ap Lauwargh̄ ap Pithle . Dauid ꝛ Ririth̄ fr̃es eius tenent .vij. ꝑtes gauelł Priditħ Mough̄ . r̃ . de Tungẹ ꝟio ꝺdc̃o .xxiij. ꝺ . ob̄ . q^{a} . Et ꝑ pas̄t P^{i}ncipis p^{i}mo ꝟio .x. ꝺ . ob̄ . Sc̃do ꝟio .v. ꝺ . q^{a} . ꝟcio ꝟio .vj. ꝺ . ob̄ . q^{a} . Quarto ꝟio .v. ꝺ . q^{a} . Et ceꝟa ꝟuic̃ in cōi ut sup^{a} . Et .viij^{a}. ꝑs eiusꝺm gauelł est escaeť ꝺni . Uñ r̃nde^{r} inferius ꝛ c̃.

Gaū Priditħ Mough̄.

Sm^{a} Tungẹ liƀor̃ de Wickewere ꝑ a^{m} ꝟio Oīm Sc̃oẓ .vj. s̄ .xj^{ꝺ}. q^{a}.

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Natiui.

Sm[a] past[o] P[i]n-ciꝑ ꝓis

Naƭ Dni	vij. ꝫ .j. đ ob.	S[o] ꝑ a[m] xviij[ꝫ]. viij[đ]. ob q[a].
Međ xl[e]	iij. ꝫ vj. đ ob q[a]	
Naƭ sči Ioħis	iiij. ꝫ .v. đ . ob q[a]	
Exalƭ sče C[u]cis	iij. ꝫ .vj. đ. ob q[a]	

De ꝓcia ꝑte Wele Moroythe que fuit in tenura Natīoꝝ ut sup[a] nullus remansit tenens viuus sꝫ est pēitus escaeƭ đni rac̃one mortuoꝝ cont[a] pacem Et respondet[r] inferius cū ceƭis escaetis ꝛ c̃.

het domū — nō ħent domū

Eynon ap Kendalo ap Madok . Ieū ꝛ Heilyn fres eius tenent medietatē ꝓcie ꝑtis de Wele Priditħ Mougħ . r̃ . de Tungꝯ ꝑ a[m] ꝓmio ꝓdc̃o .vj. đ . q[a] . Et isti cū aliis paribꝫ suis inferius ꝛ cū Naƭis de Dynhengryn inferius reddent adinuicem ꝑ pasƭ famiƭ P[i]nciꝑ in cōi .viij. ꝫ .j. đ . ob ad .iiij[or]. ꝓios sup[a]dc̃os vidƭ ad Naƭ Dni .ij. ꝫ Međ xl[e] .ij. ꝫ . Naƭ sči Ioħis Bapte ij. ꝫ . Et ad festū Exalƭ sče Crucis .ij. ꝫ .j. đ . ob . Et colligit[r] ille pastus ꝑ catalƭ et iiđm Natiui reddunt ꝑ a[m] ꝑ pastu equi Ragloti in cōi ad fm Exalƭ sče Crucis .xiij. đ ob . qui quidem pastus colligit[a] inꝓ eos ꝑ catalƭ ꝛ c̃ . Et iiđm Natiui cū illis de Dynhengreyn reddent adinuicem ꝑ a[m] ꝑ pastu dext[a]r̃ ꝛ garcōis ad ꝓminū ꝓdc̃m .viij. ꝫ .iiij. đ . ꝛ ꝑ constructione Molenđ de Bragot .iij. ꝫ ꝑ a[m] ad ꝓmios Penƭ ꝛ sči Miċhis qui carcant[r] cū Molenđ ꝓdc̃o Et ꝑ eiƈtōe ꝓpositꝰ ꝑ a[m] ad fm exalƭ Sče Crucis .x. ꝫ . Et quiƭ istoꝝ Natīoꝝ ħens domū dabit .j. galƭ ad Naƭ Dni v̄l .j. đ . Et accidit ꝫcđm maḡ vel min[o] ꝑut ꝑres eoꝝ habuerunt domos v̄l pauciores Et quiƭ eoꝝ siue domū ħuerit siue non . siue ꝑtit[o] fuit inꝓ cōes consuetudīes in fine istius Cōmoti Et alꝓa medietatas[1] ꝓcie ꝑtis eiusdē Wele est escaeta đni unde r̃ndet[r] inferius.

Ppars natīoꝝ de Wele Priditħ Mougħ.

[p. 204.]

Wele Brento.

Wele Bothleyn.

Iƭm fuit ibi unū lectū Natīoꝝ quod vocat[r] Wele Breyntꝯ . et aliud Natīoꝝ quod vocat[r] Wele Bothleyn Et sunt illa duo lecta integr̃ escaeƭ đni unde respondet[r] inferius cū aliis escaetꝯ ꝛ c̃.

[1] So in the MS.

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het domū   nl te₃ adhuc ut dr   nō ht domū s₃
Madok ap Ioꝝ . Wilt ⁊ Ioꝝ Wynene fr eius Ioꝝ Cam ap
est try diffyc   het domū
Madok ap Willym Dauid ap Ithel ap Willym ⁊ Madok ap
Ithel ap Groñ tenent qᵃrtā ptem de Wele Moynou . r̃ de
Tungꝭ int se tīo pdc̄o .ix. đ . ob . Et cetra suicia fac̄ in om̄ib₃
ut Nati de Wele supius Pridith Mough Et tres ptes istius
Wele sunt escaeta đni Unde r̃ndetʳ inferius.

Wele Moynou.

Itm de duob₃ lectis Natioꝝ que sunt penit⁹ in Boydroghyn ut supᵃ ⁊ nichil in aliis villis . pⁱmū lectū quod vocatʳ Wele Anergh Cuyr Duyon est pēit⁹ escaeta đni vidlt medietas inde racone mortuoꝝ contᵃ pacē . Et altra medietas est tyrdiffyc in mañ đni p defc̄u suic̄ Et inde respondetʳ inferius cū cetris escaetis ⁊ c̄.

Wele Anergh Guyr Duyon.

Et scđm lectū quod vocatʳ Wele Thleytheu ⁊ quod sitr est penit⁹ in Boydroghyn diuiditʳ in qᵃtuor gauelt Unde statim subsequitʳ de qᵃlt gaū p se.

De pⁱma gauelt isti⁹ lecti que vocatʳ gauelt Pridith bolgh que solebat reddere de Tungꝭ .ix. đ . Et p .iij. vasis butir .x. s . nullus remansit tenens s₃ est integr̃ escaeta đni unde r̃ndetʳ inferius ⁊ c̄.

Wele Pridith Bolgh.

nō ht domū   nō ht domū
Eynon Voyl ap Eynon ap Groñ . Dauid Loyd ap Ph ap
nō het dom̄   nō ht dom̄
Dauid Keñ Duy ap Cadogan ap Heilyn ⁊ Kendalo ap Groñ tenent medietatem gauelt map Gurnewyth . r̃ . de Tungꝭ tīo pdc̄o .iiij. đ . ob . Et p .j. vase dī butir .v. s . eođm tīo Et cetra suicia in cōi ⁊ c̄ . Et isti tenentes dicunt q̃d nō soluūt gallinas neq̨ p opib₃ autūpnalib₃ eo q̃d nullus eoꝝ sedet sup tram tn quilt tram tenens siue sederit sup tram siue nō : dabit p opibus autūpnalib₃ scđm dc̄m alioꝝ Natioꝝ supius p .iij. dietis messionis .iiijᵈ. ob . tn nⁱl inde hic q₃ in gauelt Keñ Duy inferius Et debent isti de iure cenari ad domū sup tram suā construendā simul cū om̄ib₃ aliis Natis domos nō hentib₃ si habeant unde . Ideo ⁊ c̄ . Et altra medietas isti⁹ gauelt est escaeta đni unde respondetʳ inferius ⁊ c̄.

Gaū map Gournewith.

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nō ht dom̃ nō hent dom̃

Griff Bagh ap Madok Gogh . Groñ ⁊ Tuder fres eius tenent ꝑciā ptē gauelt Brynprydan . r̃ . de Tung ꝓ dc̃o .iij. d . Et p .j. vas butir̃ eodm ꝓ .iij. s .iiij. d . et ceꝛa ꝟuicia ut supa.

Gaũ Bryn pridan.

Itm Ieñ ap Madok ap Geinthlyn tenet .ixam. ptem eiusdem gauelt . r̃ . de Tung .j. d . Et p .iiijta. pte ⁊ .viija. pte .jo. vasis butir̃ .xv. d . eodē ꝓmīo . Et fac̃ at ꝟuicia ut supa Et sic medietas ⁊ ixa. ps alꝓius medietatis sūt escaet̃ dni unde rndetr inferius ⁊ c̃.

h; dom̃ h; dom̃

Itm ꝑdci Eynon Voyl ap Eynon . Dauid Loyd ap Ph .

het-dom̃

Gaũ Keñ Duy. [p. 205.]

Keñ Duy ap Cad ⁊ Kendalo ap Groñ tenent ꝓciam ptem ⁊ xviijam. ptem gauelt Keñ Duy . r̃ . de Tung ꝓ dc̃o .iij. d . ob . Et p .j. vase ⁊ .viija. pte .jo. vasis but eodm ꝓ .iij. s ix. d . Et ceꝛa ꝟuicia ut supa Et medietas ⁊ .ixa. ps eiusd gauelt sunt escaet̃ dni unde rndetr inferius ⁊ c̃.

Sma Tung Natioz de Wickewere ⁊ Boydroghyn p am. ꝓio Omniū Sc̃oz .ij. s .iij. d . ob . qa . Unde .ij. d diffyk.

Sma gallinaz ad Nat̃ Dni ut nūc .viij. galliñ ꝑc̃ .viij. d.

Sma opū autūpnaliū ut nūc .xlij. opa ꝑc̃ .v. s .vj. d.

Sma butir̃ p am. ꝓio Oim Sc̃oz ut nūc .iiij. vas ꝑc̃ .xiij. s .iiij. d.

De aliis pastibz nichil assūmantr hic : quia in fine Cōmot̃ ⁊ c̃.

Et scien̄d q̄d villata de Wickewere contz in ꝓris boscis ⁊ vastis . M¹lxxij. ac̃r .iij. rod ⁊ d̄i . Hamelt de Kilmayl contz in om̄ibz .Clx. ac̃r ⁊ d̄i . Hamelt de Boydroghyn contz .M CCCxl. ac̃r ꝓre bosci ⁊ vast̃ unde Sma in uniuso M¹Dlxxiij.[1] ac̃r .j. rod . d̄i . Et inde erit ꝑpars escaet̃ dni scdm veram ꝑporcōem M¹DCxxxviij ac̃r .j. rod d̄i ⁊ c̃ . De quibz allocantr diuſis ꝑodariis de Lewenny ⁊ Astret Canon in excambio p eoz p̄riōniis in dc̃is vilt ⁊ c̃ . quedam ꝑporcões diuſoz tenenciū

inuero mēdosus, forte.

Distincto escact̃.

[1] So in MS.

in Wickewere qui obierūt cont[a] pacem quoꝝ ꝑporcões debent contīere .Clxxv. acr̃ .iij. rod ꝟre bosc̃ ⁊ vast̃ . Et sic supsunt de ꝑpte đni in Wickewere . Kilmayl ⁊ Boydrogħyn M[l]CCCClxij. acr̃ dī ⁊ dī rod ꝟre bosc̃ ⁊ vast̃ que app[u]ant[r] ut patet inferius . Primo in Wickewere postea in Kilmayl ⁊ deinde in Boydrogħyn.

Bouaţ de Wickewere.

Hugo de Hultoñ tenet in Wickewere medietatē .j[o]. bouaţ ꝟre contiñ .v. acr̃ ꝟre que solebant poni in renţli in villaţ de Lewenny ꝑ quibꝫ solebat reddere ꝑ a[m] .xx. đ . ut patet inꝟ bouaţ de Lewenny ⁊ nūc dāt[r] ꝑ cartā đni tenent[r] quiete cū alia dimiđ bouaţ in Lewenny ꝑtiñ ad Burg̃ de Dynbeigħ infra muros.

Firm̃ acr̃ de Wickewere.

Lewel ap Eynon Cogħ tenet .vj. acr̃ .j. rod ꝟre de escaeţ in Wickewere ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. đ . r̃ . ꝑ a[m] ad ꝟios Penţ ⁊ sči Michis .iij. ſ .j. đ . ob̃.

Iđm Lewel tenet .xx. acr̃ ꝟre unde .ij. acr̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. đ ⁊ .xvij. acr̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. đ . r̃ . ꝑ a[m] ꝟis ꝑdc̃is .xij. ſ .iiij. đ.

Ioꝝ ap Eynon ap Yenaf tenet .j. acr̃ dī . ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. đ . r̃ . ꝟ . ꝑdc̃o .xij. đ.

Iđm Ioꝝ tenet .xij. acr̃ .iij. rod dī unde .ij[e]. acr̃ ⁊ dī ⁊ dī rod ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. đ ⁊ .x. acr̃ .j. rod ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. đ . r̃ . ꝟ ꝑdicte .vj. ſ .x. đ . ob̃.

Iđm Ioꝝ tenet .iij. acr̃ dī ⁊ .xxx. ꝑtic̃ Unde .j. acr̃ ⁊ xxx ꝑtic̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ viij. đ ⁊ ij acr̃ dī ꝑc̃ acr̃ vj đ . r̃ . ꝟ . ꝑ .ij. ſ . ob̃.

Et iđm Ioꝝ tenet .iiij. acr̃ dī ꝟre ꝑc̃ acr̃ viij đ . r̃ . ꝟ . ꝑ .iij. ſ.

Ithel Loyd ap Cadog̃ tenet .xvj. acr̃ .j. rod ꝟre unde xiij acr̃ dī ꝑc̃ acr̃ .iiij. đ ⁊ ij. acr̃ iij. rod ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. đ . r̃ . ꝑ a[m] . ꝟ . ꝑ .v. ſ .x. đ ob̃.

Iđm Ithel tenet .j. rod ꝟre quā Eynon ap Dauid ap Groñ tenuit . r̃ . ꝟ . ꝑ .ij. đ.

Iđm Ithel tenet .iiij. acr̃ ꝟre .iij. rod r̃ . ꝟ . ꝑ .ij. ſ .iiij. đ ob̃ . ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. đ.

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Eynon ap Kendal ap Keñ tenet j. acr̃ .iij. rod dī p̃c̃ acr̃ .iiij. d̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .vij. d̄ . ob̄.

Id̄m Eynon ap Kendal tenet .j. acr̃ dī ꝛre . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xij. d̄.

Eynon ap Kendal ap Madok tenet .j. acr̃ dī . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .ix. d̄.

[p. 206.] Gurg̃ ap Ithel tenet .viij. acr̃ .iij. rod dī . Unde .j. acr̃ .j. rod dī p̃c̃ acr̃ viij. d̄ ⁊ vij. acr̃ dī p̃c̃ acr̃ vj. d̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .iiij. s̄ .viij. d̄.

Id̄m Gurg̃ tenet j. rod dī . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .iij. d̄.

Ririth̄ ap Ithel tenet vij. acr̃ .j. rod Unde iij. acr̃ dī p̃c̃ acr̃ vj. d̄ ⁊ iij. acr̃ .iij. rod dī . p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij. d̄ r̃ p̲ a^{m} . ꝑ . p̄ .iiij. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

Iu^{a} map Ithel tenet .iiij. acr̃ .j. rod Unde .iij. acr̃ p̃c̃ acr̃ iiij d̄ ⁊ .j. acr̃ .j. rod p̃c̃ acr̃ viij. d̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xxij. d̄.

Ithel ap Ioꝝ tenet .j. acr̃ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .viij. d̄.

Griff ap Ioꝝ tenet .ij. acr̃ dī ꝛre r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xx. d̄ p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij. d̄.

Rees ap Meiller tenet .viij. acr̃ ꝛre p̃c̃ acr̃ vj. d̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .iiij. s̄.

Id̄m Rees tenet de ꝛra que fuit Keñ ap Meiller .v. acr̃ p̃c̃ acr̃ .iiij. d̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xx. d̄.

Id̄m Rees tenet .vj. acr̃ j. rod ꝛre unde dī acr̃ ⁊ dī rod p̃c̃ acr̃ iiij. d̄ ⁊ v. acr̃ dī ⁊ dī rod p̃c̃ acr̃ .vj. d̄ . re . ꝑ . p̄ .iij. s̄ . q^{a}.

Et ĩn valet acr̃ vj . d̄ . ad min^{o} ⁊ ĩo melius app^{u}et^{r}.

Et id̄m Rees tenet .ij. acr̃ dī . ⁊ dī rod . Unde .j. acr̃ ⁊ dī rod p̃c̃ acr̃ .vj. d̄ ⁊ .j. acr̃ ⁊ dī p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij. d̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xviij. d̄ . ob̄ q^{a}.

Leuky que fuit uxor Kendaƚ ap Keñ tenet .j. acr̃ .iij. rod p̃c̃ acr̃ .vj. d̄ . ꝑ . p̄ .ix. d̄.

Ead̄m Leuky tenet .ij. acr̃ .j. rod dī ꝛre p̃c̃ acr̃ viij^{a}. r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xix. d̄.

Eaḋm Leuky tenet dī acr̃ ꝛre . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .iij. d̄.

Ioꝝ ap Lauwargh̄ tenet .iiij. acr̃ ⁊ xxx ptiĉ ꝛre p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij. d̄. r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .ij. s̄ .ix. d̄ . ob̄.

Groñ Vagh^{a}n ap Groñ tenet .iij. acr̃ .iij. rod̃ ꝛre ꝑcii acr̃ .iiij. d̃ . r̃ p a^{m} ꝛ . ꝑ .xv. d̃.

Id̃m Groñ tenet .j. acr̃ .j. rod̃ dī ei^{o}d̃ ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝑ . ꝛ .v. d̃ . ob̃.

Id̃m Groñ tenet .iij. acr̃ ꝯ ꝛciam ꝑtē .j^{o}. acre . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . in grosso ꝛ . ꝑ .ij. ꝫ .iij. d̃ . ut fate^{r}.

Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .iij. acr̃ ꝯ ꝛciam ꝑtem .j^{o}. acre . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . in grosso ꝛ . ꝑ .ij. ꝫ .iij. d̃.

Madokꝭ ap Heilyn tenet iij. acr̃ ꝯ ꝛciam ꝑtem .j^{o}. acre . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝛ . ꝑ .ij. ꝫ .iij. d̃.

Id̃m Madokꝭ tenet .j. acr̃ ꝑc̃ .vj. d̃ . ꝯ dī acr̃ ꝑc̃ .iiij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝛ . ꝑ .x. d̃.

Iī̃m ꝑdc̃us Heilyn ap Eynon tenet dī acr̃ ꝛre . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝛ . ꝑ .iij. d̃.

Kenerys uxor Madokꝭ tenet .ij. acr̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. d̃ ꝯ j. acr̃ dī . ꝑc̃ acr̃ .iiij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .xviij. d̃.

Ioꝫ ap Ririth̃ ap Groñ tenet .xj. acr̃ .iij. rod̃ Unde .vij. acr̃ iij. rod̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .iiij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .v. ꝫ .iij. d̃.

Groñ Loyd ap Ithel teꝫ v. acr̃ .iij. rod̃ . Unde .iiij. acr̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. d̃ . ꝯ j. acr̃ .iij. rod̃ . ꝑc̃ acr̃ .iiij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .iiij. ꝫ .iij. d̃.

Meiller ap Yoruard̃ tenet j. acr̃ ꝛre . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .iij. d̃.

Eddeñ ap Griff teꝫ unā acr̃ ꝛre . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .viij. d̃.

Eynon ap Griff tenet ij. acr̃ dī . ꝑc̃ acr̃ vj. d̃ . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .xv. d̃.

Yeu^{a}n Loyd ap Groñ tenet .j. acr̃ j. rod̃ ꝛre ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} ꝛīs ꝑdc̃is .x. d̃.

Groñ ap Ioꝫ Loyd̃ . tꝫ unā placeam ꝑc̃ . ob̃ . ꝯ vij. acr̃ dī ꝛre ꝑc̃ acr̃ viij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝛ . ꝑ .v. ꝫ . ob̃.

Tangoistel uxor Eynon tenet de ꝛra que fuit Keñ ap Meiller .v. acr̃ ꝛre ꝑc̃ acr̃ .iiij. d̃ . r̃ . ꝛ . ꝑ .xx. d̃.

Dauid ap Bleth̃ tenet .xiij. acr̃ .j. rod̃ dī . Uñ .iiij. acr̃ .j. rod̃ dī ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. d̃ . ꝯ ix. acr̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ vj. d̃ . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝛ . ꝑ .vij. ꝫ .v. d̃.

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Madokꝯ ap Ithel tenet .ij. acr̃ dī ꝛ xxx ꝑtic̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. đ. r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝑ . ꝑ .xxj. đ ob̃.

Madokꝯ Bagħ tenet unā acr̃ . r̃ . ꝑ . ꝑ .vj. đ.

Bleitħ ap Eynon ap Ada tenet ꝑram Yockyn Cam natiui diffikꝯ que cōtꝫ .xvij. acr̃ ꝛ xxv. ptic̃ ꝑre bosc̃ ꝛ vast̃ . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ꝑ . ꝑ . in grosso .v. ꝫ . Et nꝯo^{9} r̃ . ꝑ ea Tungꝯ ꝛ alia viua ꝓuicia supius no^{a}ta quousq; ꝓdict̃ Ioꝝ Cam aut heredes sui [p. 207.] venꝓint ꝛ satisfecꝓint ꝑ dc̃a r̃ra rehabenđ ꝛ c̃.

Sm^{a} firm̃ de Wickewere ꝑis { Penť .lvj. ꝫ .j. đ. ; Sc̃i Michis .lvj. ꝫ .j. đ. } ꝫ^{e} { ꝑ a^{m} .Cxij. ꝫ .ij. đ ; ꝑ j. plac̃ ꝛ ; .CCxix. acr̃ j ; rođ dī ꝛ .xv. ; ꝑtic̃ ꝑre. }

Herbag̃. Et sic supsunt de ꝑꝑte đni in Wickewere .CCxxvij. acr̃ .iij. rođ ꝛ xv. ꝑtic̃ ꝑre ꝛ vast̃ de quibꝫ dn̄s nullū capit annuale ꝑficuū nisi q̃d cōitas villať redđ đno ꝑ a^{m} . ꝑinde herbag̃ ad .ij^{os}. ꝑios .xiij. ꝫ .iiij. đ . Et t̃n valeret quełt acr̃ ad app^{u}anđ una plus ꝛ alia min^{9} .iij. đ ꝑ a^{m} ad min^{9} . Et sic foret No^{a}. app^{u}amenť ꝑ a^{m} plus q^{a}m nūc xliij. ꝫ .vj. đ ob̃.

Sm^{a} herbag̃—xiij. ꝫ .iiij. đ.

Molenđ. Et est ibi unū Molendinū aq^{a}ticū Unde q^{a}rta ꝑs ꝑtinet đno quā Heilyn ap Watte tenet ad firmā . r̃ . ꝑ a^{m} . ad ij^{os}. ꝑios ꝓdc̃os .vj. ꝫ .viij. đ . Et id̃m Heilyn . r̃ . đno ꝑ a^{m} . ad eosđm ꝑios loco Priodaŕ illius vilł ꝑ attacħ stagni Molenđ .viij. ꝫ .iiij. đ.

Sm^{a} firm̃ Molenđ cū attacħ Stagni—viij. ꝫ .iiij. đ.

Ioꝝ ap Eynon tenet xxj. acr̃ .iij. rođ ꝑre in Boydroghyn Unde .v. acr̃ ꝛ dī . ꝑc̃ acr̃ .vj. đ . ꝛ .xv. acr̃ ꝛ dī ꝑc̃ acr̃ .viij. đ . r̃ ꝑis ꝓdc̃is xiij. ꝫ .j. đ.

Hamelt de Boydroghyn. Ieuan ap Groñ ap Eynon tenet ix. acr̃ ꝑre ꝑc̃ acr̃ viij. đ . r̃ . ꝑ . ꝑ .vj. ꝫ.

Groñ ap Madokꝯ tenet . xiiij. acr̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ iiij. đ . r̃ . ꝑ . ꝑ .iiij. ꝫ .viij. đ.

Ioꝝ ap Madokꝯ ap Ioꝝ tꝫ iiij. acr̃ eiusđm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝑ . ꝑ xvj. đ.

Heilyn ap Groñ ap Eynon tȝ iiij. acr̃ .iij. rod eiusdm ꝑcii . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .xix. d. APP. B e. A.D. 1335.

Eynon Routh tenȝ .iij. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .xij. d.

Wladus Vergh Edeneweyn tenet . dī acr̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .ij. d.

Dauid ap Dauid Wan tenet ij. acr̃ iij. rod eiusdm ꝑc̃ r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .xj. d.

Dauid ap Ioꝛ tenet j. acr̃ dī eiusd ꝑc̃ r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .vj. d.

Eynon Loyd tenet iij. acr̃ eiusd ꝑc̃ r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .xij. d.

Dauid ap Ph̃ tenet .ij. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d.

Keñ ap Conagh̃ tenet .v. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .xx. d.

Madokꝯ ap Heilyn tenet .ij. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d.

Meiller ap Ioꝛ tenet .j. acr̃ dī eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .vj. d.

Madokꝯ ap Dauid Wan tenet j. acr̃ r̃ ꝙ ꝑ .iiij. d.

Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .ij. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d.

Ir̃m Heilyn ap Eynon Gogh̃ tenet .j. acr̃ dī eiusd ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .vj. d.

Keñ ap Eynon tenet .ij. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d .

Eynon Voyl tenet .ij. acr̃ eiusdm ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d.

Dauid ap Kendaƚ ap Ioꝛ tenȝ .ij. acr̃ eiusd ꝑc̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d.

Dauid Loyd tenet .j. acr̃ ꝙre . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d.

Keñ Duy tenet .ij. acr̃ . r̃ ꝑ a^{m} . ꝙ . ꝑ .viij. d . ꝑc̃ acr̃ ut sup^{a}.

Madokꝯ ap Ph̃ tenet .j. acr̃ . r̃ . ꝙ . ꝑ .iiij. d.

Om̃es Natiui eiusdm vilƚ qui dant butir̃ tenent gauelƚ P^{l}ditḥ bulgh̃ integre que conƚ .l. acr̃ dī ꝙre ꝑꝙ ꝑptē eiusd gaũ in cōi vasto que contineret si ꝑtita fuisset .xxvj. acr̃ dī . ȶ xxxij. ꝑtic̃ redd ꝑ annū in grosso ꝙminis ꝑdictis—xvj. s̄ .j. d ob. No^{a}. App^{u}et^{r} ista ꝙra meli^{o} q^{b} valet ꝑ annū . xx s̄.

Sm^{a} firm̃ de Boydroghyn ꝙis

Penƚ .xxvij. s̄ .iiij^{d}. q^{a}
Sc̃i Mich̃ .xxvij. s̄ .iiij. d . q^{a}

S^{c} ꝑ a^{m} .liiij. s̄ .viij. d ꝑ .Cxxxix. acr̃. .j. rod ꝙre ȶ .xxvj. acr̃ dī ȶ xxxij ꝑtic̃ vasƚ si ꝑƚ

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APP. B e.

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Et cõitas eiusdm Hamelt r̃ dno p a^{m} ad .ij^{os}. ꝟios pdc̃os p herbag̃ residue ppartis dni ibm .lv. s . ⁊ conr̃ illud residuū si ptitū fuit ⁊ extractū ꝟ vastū pporcõis gauelt Priditħ bulgħ supius .vij.l. acr̃ ⁊ xxviij. ptic̃ quaꝝ quelt acr̃ valeret p a^{m} ad

No^{a}. app^{u}and .ij. d . Et s^{c} foret app^{u}amentū p a^{m} . plus q^{a}m nūc .lxx. s.

Sm^{a} herbag̃ p a^{m}—lv. s.

Molend. Et est ibi unū Molendinū aq^{a}ticū unde . xij^{a}. ps ptiñ dno

ss. Sꝫ. app^{u}et^{r} meli^{o} . qꝫ molend est bonū ⁊ in loco viuo ⁊ c̃. quā Dauid ap Ioꝝ tenet ad firmā . r̃ . dno p a^{m} . ad .ij^{os}. ꝟios pdc̃os .xvj. d.

Sm^{a} Molend p a^{m}—xvj. d.

Ioꝝ ap Eynon ap Yenaf tenet xij. acr̃ .iij. rod ꝟre mortue ⁊ j. acr̃ .j. rod dī ꝟre diffikꝭ Unde ij. acr̃ ⁊ dī . ⁊ dī rod p̃c̃ acr̃ iiij. d ⁊ .xj. acr̃ dī p̃c̃ acr̃ .vj. d . re . ꝟ p̃ .vj^{s}. viij^{d} ob.

Groñ ap Mad teꝫ .ix. acr̃ ꝟr̃ . p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij^{d}. ⁊ iij. rod p̃c̃ .iiij. d . ob . r̃ p a^{m} ꝟ . p̃ .ij^{s}. iiij^{d} ob.

Eynon Loyd tenet .xiij. acr̃ ꝟre . Unde .vij. acr̃ p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij. d . ⁊ v. acr̃ .iij. rod p̃c̃ acr̃ .xij. d . r̃ p a^{m} . ꝟ . p̃ .x. s .vij. d.

Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .viij. acr̃ dī . p̃c̃ acr̃ .vj. d . r̃ . ꝟ . p̃ .iiij. s .iij. d.

Madokꝭ ap Heilyn tenet .j. acr̃ . r̃ . ꝟ . p̃ .vj. d.

Heilyn ap Groñ tenet .iiij. acr̃ ꝟre p̃c̃ acr̃ .viij. d ⁊ .j. rod p̃c̃ .j. d . ob . r̃ . ꝟ . p̃ .ij. s .ix. d . ob.

Tota villata tenet .ij. acr̃ ꝟre p̃c̃ acr̃ x. d . r̃ . p a^{m} . ꝟm̃is pdc̃is .xx d.

Sm^{a} firm̃ de Kilmayl ꝟis { Penr̃ .xiiij. s .iiij. d ob q^{a} ; Sc̃i Micħis .xiiij. s .iiij. d ob q^{a} } S^{c} p a^{m} .xxviij. s .ix. d . ob p xlvj. acr̃ dī ⁊ dī rod ꝟre.

Et sic supsunt de ppte dni in Kilmayl .xlvij. acr̃ dī ⁊ .x. ptic̃ ꝟre ⁊ vasr̃ p quaꝝ herbag̃ Cõitas vilt redd p a^{m} . ad .ij^{os}. ꝟios pdc̃os .iiij. s . et tamen si ptir̃ fuissent ⁊ extracte .

valeret quelt acr̃ . una plus ꝛ alia minꝰ ad appⁿandꝺ ꝑ aᵐ .iij. ꝺ ad minꝰ Et sᶜ foret ꝑficuū ꝑ aᵐ . plus qᵃm nūc—vij. s̄ .x. ꝺ . oƀ.

Smª herbag̃ ꝑ aᵐ—iiij. s̄.

* * *

Smª Tungꝭ tociꝰ Cōmoti de Ysdulas ꝑ aᵐ ꝓio Oᵐ Sc̃oꝝ— lxs̄. iiijꝺ. [p. 243.]

Smª denar̃ ꝑ butir̃ eoꝺm ꝓmīo—lxiij. s̄ .iij. ꝺ . oƀ qª.

vj. s̄ .ij. ꝺ . oƀ qª x. s̄ .j. ꝺ

Smª denar̃ ꝑ discꝭ farine ꝛ Thraū aueñ eoꝺ ꝓio—xvj. s̄ .iijꝺ. oƀ . qª ꝑ Cxlix. discꝭ dī fariñ ꝛ xxx Thraū ꝛ iiijtª ꝑte .jꝰ. thraū.

Smª pastus Pⁱnc̃ diūsimode accidentꝭ ꝑ cʳsū tⁱennalē ꝓis

Smª Pastꝰ Pⁱnc̃ et Consuetudines.

Annor̃ Rꝭ Eꝭ . ꝓcii pꝰ cōq̃m viiiº	Nat̃ Dᵒⁱ .lij. s̄ ix ꝺ oƀ qª	sᶜ illo aº vj. lī .xviijs̄. xꝺ oƀ qª dī.
	Meꝺ xlᵉ .xxvjs̄. .vjꝺ. oƀ qª	
	Nat̃ sc̃i Ioh̄ .xxxiijs̄. jꝺ oƀ qª	
	Exalt̃ . s . Crucꝭ .xxvjs̄. .vꝺ. oƀ . qª	
Annoregni Regꝭ ꝓdc̃i nono	Nat̃ Dni .liij. s̄ . qª	sᶜ toto illo aº .vj lī .xix. s̄ .v ꝺ . oƀ . qª. dī qª.
	Meꝺ xlᵉ .xxvj. s̄ .vij ꝺ	
	Nat̃ . s̄ . Ioh̄ Bapt̃ .xxxiijs̄. iijꝺ qª . dī.	
	Exalt̃ . s̄ . Cruc̃ .xxvjs̄. vijꝺ.	

Et redꝺo ad pᵐ . aᵐ . ꝛ sic semꝑ decʳrendo ꝑ illā differenc̃ triennalem.

Smª Pastꝰ Pⁱnc̃ diūsimode accidꝺ ꝑ cʳsū tⁱennalem aº tūc ꝑx̃ seq̃nt̃—

Nat̃ Dᵒⁱ	.lijs̄ . iiijꝺ. qª	sᶜ toto illo aº .vj. lī .xvij. s̄ . oƀ . ꝛ dī qª.
Meꝺ xlᵉ	.xxvj. s̄ .iij ꝺ	
Nat̃ . s̄ . Ioh̄ .xxxij. s̄ .x. ꝺ . qª dī		
Exalt̃ . s̄ . Cᵘcis .xxvj. s̄ .iij. ꝺ.		

APP. B e.

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Sm[a] Past̄ famił Princip̄ exeunt̄ de Natiū isti[9] Cōmoti p̄is

Nat̄ Do[i]	ij. s	s[c]. p a[m]. viij. s .j. d ob.
Med̄ xl[e]	ij. s	
Nat̄ s . Ioh̄	ij. s	
Exalt̄ . s . C[u]cis .ij. s .j d ob		

Et sciend̄ q̄d om̄es liḃi istius Cōmoti ꝟ eoꝝ tenentes p̄ p̄gēiem Edeñ reddent d̄no in cōi p̄ a[m]. ad festū Exalt̄ Sce Crucis p̄ pastu Staloñ ꝟ garcōis luctrāt̄ cū canibꝫ ꝟ Pennackew ꝟ Waissyon bagheyn adīuicē .xlij. s .xj. d . ob . Et colligit[r] in p̄ eos p̄ catalł ꝟ c̄.

xij. s .x. d xx. s .j. d x. s . ob

Et om̄es Natiui istius Cōmoti p̄re tenentes reddent d̄no adinuicē p̄ annū eod̄m p̄īo p̄ pastū Staloñ ꝟ garcōis luctrāt̄ cū canibꝫ Pennackew ꝟ Waissyon bagheyn . Iť̄m om̄es Natiui qui non dant butiť̄ reddūt d̄no adīuicē p̄īo p̄dco p̄ pastu dextrāt̄ ꝟ garcōis ꝟ p̄ pastu equi Ragloti .ix. s .v d . ob p̄ut plenius patet in villa de Wyckeweť̄.

ij. s .iiij. d iiij. s .vj. d

ij. s .iij. d. ix. s .j. d

xiij d . ob

[p. 244.] Adhuc de Sm[a] Past[9] Princip̄ ꝟ Consuetudines.

Sm[a] past[9] liḃoꝝ ꝟ Natiū p̄ a[m]. adīuicē p̄

Pastu Staloñ ꝟ garcōis	xv s .ij. d	ad festū Exalt̄ . s . C[u]cis.
Pastu lucr̄ cū canibꝫ	xxiiij s .vij d	
Pastu Pennak̄ ꝟ Weiš bagh̄	xij[s]. iij[d] ob	
Pastu dext[a]r̄ ꝟ garcōis	viij. s .iiij d	
Pastu equi Ragloti	xiij. d . ob	

Et om̄es liḃi istius Cōmoti reddunt d̄no p̄ a[m]. adinuicē p̄ sustentac̄one domoꝝ ꝟ sepiū Manerii de Dynorbyn ad p̄mīos Penť̄ ꝟ sc̄i Michis p̄ eq[a]les porcōes .xiij. s .iiij. d . et colligit[r] ista consuetudo in p̄ eos s̄c ł̄m eoꝝ catalla ut dicunt.

Iť̄m om̄es Natiui istius Cōmoti qui dant butiť̄ reddunt ad eosd̄m in p̄mīos cōi pro sustentacōe domoꝝ eiusd̄m Manerii ꝟ sustenť̄ Molend̄ de Meynyot ut patet supius—xiij. s .iiij. d.

v. s .viij. d

vj. s .viij. d

Sm^{a} denar̃ tā de liḃis q^{a}m de Naťis ꝑ—

Sustenť domoꝝ ꝓ̃is { Pent .x. ß / Sc̃i Mich̃ .x. ß } s^{c} ꝑ a^{m} .xx. ß.

Sustenť Molend̃ ꝓ̃is { Penť iij ß .iiij. d̃ / Sc̃i Mich̃ .iij. ß .iiij. d̃ } s^{c} ꝑ a^{m} vjß. viij d̃.

Sm^{a} denar̃ exeunc̃ de Naťis ꝑ diu̇sis minutę cōsueť—Videłt.

Galťis ad Nať Do^{i} ut nūc iiij. ß . ꝑ xlviij. galťis.

Cribraŕ aueñ ad Pasch̃ ut nūc iij. ß . ꝑ xxxvj Cribr̃.

Ouis ꝛ agñ eod̃m ꝓ̃io ut nūc ix ß ꝑ .viij^{c}.lxiiij. oū ꝛ xxxvj. agñ.

Opib^{ꝫ} autūpnał ꝑ Assūpc̃ ꝺe M^{e}. ut ñc xxj^{ß} ꝑ Clxviij. opib^{ꝫ}.

Accidunt iste consuedines[1] ßc̃d̃m magę ꝛ min^{ꝰ} ꝑut pluŕ fu̇int teñ de Natiuis v̄l pauciores.

Sm^{a} denar̃ exeunc̃ de Naťis qui non dant butir̃ de fine ꝑ offic̃ ꝑpōiture eis relaxando ꝑ annū ꝓ̃io Exalť sc̃e Crucis .x. ß.

Sm^{a} valor̃ opū arure ꝛ herciature de Naťis de Meynyot . Kilkydokę ꝛ Dynorbyn Vagh^{a}n ꝑ estimac̃oem cōib^{ꝫ} annis ad Natał D̄ni .iij. ß . Tamen accidit sub incerto ßc̃d̃m pluralit̃ Natīoꝝ habenc̃ caruc̃ ꝛ c̃.

Sm^{a} valor̃ busce ad sepes ꝑuēienť de Naťis istius Cōmoti facientib^{ꝫ} v̄l emendantib^{ꝫ} sepes cōib^{ꝫ} annis ꝑ estīac̃oem p^{i}mo die Maii—ij. ß . Accidit tamen sub incerto.

Et om̄es liḃi ꝛ Naťi isti^{ꝰ} Cōmoti reddunt d̄no adinuicē ꝑ annū ad ꝓ̃ios Penť ꝛ sc̃i Mich̃ ꝑ pasť Foresť in cōi—lx ß .viij. d̃.

Sm^{a} patet.

Et sic est Sm^{a} valor̃ oīm cōsuetud̃ ꝑdict̃ cōib^{ꝫ} annis xvij. lī .vij. ß .vij. d̃ . oḃ q^{a} . dī.

Offic̃ Ragloti cū feod̃ eius valet cōib^{ꝫ} annis	C. ß
Offic̃ Ryngildr̃ valet cōib^{ꝫ} annis cū feod̃ suis	iiij. lī .ij. ß
Offic̃ Iudic̃ cū feod̃ suis valet cōib^{ꝫ} annis	xx. ß
Offic̃ Coidaŕ cū feod̃ suis valet cōib^{ꝫ} annis	xl. ß
Offic̃ Seruienť pacis cū feod̃ suis	lx. ß

Officia

[1] So in the MS.

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Offic̃ Ragloti aduocariaꝫ cū redd̃u hoīm q^{i} sūt ī aduocaī̃ đni valꝫ cōibꝫ annis } xx^{s}

Offic̃ amobr̃ cū amobragiis istius Cōmoti valet cōibꝫ annis x lī

Sm^{a} valor̃ Officioꝫ ad firm̃ ꝓ̄is—

Pent̃ xiij lī .xij đ
Sc̃i Mich̃ .xiij lī .xij. đ } s^{c}. ꝑ a^{m} .xxvj lī .ij. s.

Pquis Cuř. Itm pquis Cuř cū fiñ releū intestatoꝫ ꝛ ōibꝫ aliis escaet̃ estimant^{r} valere cōibꝫ annis—xx lī. Sm^{a} patet.

Pq^{l}s Forest̃. Itm pquis Cuř Forest̃ cū ōibꝫ escaet̃ Forest̃ istius Cōmoti estimant^{r} valere cōibꝫ annis—xx. s. Sm^{a} patet.

Sm^{a} valor̃ Maḋii de Dynorbyn quod est ī đnico ꝑ a^{m}. — xxiiij. lī .x. s .vij^{đ}. q^{a}.

Sm^{a} s^{a}maꝫ oīm reddituū cōsuetud̃ ꝛ firm̃ isti^{9} Cōmoti uno a^{o} pl^{9} ꝛ alio min^{9} in terminis.

Oīm Sc̃oꝫ .	.vj lī .xix s .xj. đ . ob̃.	
Nat̃ Dni . .	lxxviij. s . .ix^{đ} ob̃ q^{a}	
Međ xl^{e} . .	. xxviij. s .v đ . q^{a}	
Pasch̃ . .	. . . xij. s	S^{c} ꝑ a^{m} .Cliij. lī
Pent̃ . .	lxvj. lī .vj. s .j. đ q^{a}	.vij. s .vj. đ . ob̃ .
Nat̃ . s . Ioh̃ .	. xxxv. s .j. đ . dī q^{a}	q^{a} dī.
Assūpc̃ be Mar̃	. . . xxj. s .	
Exalt̃ sc̃e C^{u}cis	. . C. s . ob̃ q^{a}	
Sc̃i Mich̃is	lxvj. lī .vj. s .j. đ q^{a}	

Sm^{a} valor̃ exituū q^{i} accidūt s̄b inc̃to ī ꝓ̄is—

Arure ꝛ herciature .	iij. s.
Busc̃ ad sep̄ . . .	ij. s.
Pquis ꝛ exit̃ Forest̃ .	xx. s.
Pquis Cuř cū ret̃ ꝛ escaet̃	xx. lī.

Et sic est Sm^{a} valoris tocius Cōmoti de Ysdulas ꝑ annū in ōibꝫ exit̃ sc̃dm istā extent̃—C^{xx} iiij . xix . lī .iij. s .ij. đ ꝛ dī q^{a}.

Et po^{t}it app^{n}ari ꝑ annū plus q^{a}m nūc ꝓut patet ꝑ ꝓtic̃las in diuſ villat̃ de—xvij. lī .viij. s .xj. đ.

APPENDIX B f.

Extent of the Villata of Dynorbyn Vaur.

Manꝺiū de Dynorbyn Vaur.

App. B f.

[p. 214.]

Capitale Mesuag̃.

Situs Manerii de Dynorbyn in quo est una g^{a}ngia cōpetens ⁊ alꝑa penit^{o} vastata ꝑꝑ gross̄ maerem̃ . unū g^{a}nar̃ ⁊ unā boueria ⁊ una dom^{o} ꝑ feno ⁊ forag̃ debit̄ cont̄ uniꝺsalr ij acr̃ ⁊ unā ꝑtic̃ unde aysiam̃t̄ domoꝝ ⁊ Cur̃ valet ꝑ a^{m} .v. s̄ . Et est ibi unū colūbar̃ ruinosū quod si repet^{r} valebit ꝑ a^{m} vj. s̄ .viij. ꝺ.

Sm^{a} valoris capit̄ Mesuagii cū colūbar̃—xj. s̄ .viij^{ꝺ}.

Et sunt ibi de ꝑra arabili que potest quoꝺt a^{o} seīari .j. acr̃ .iij roꝺ dī ⁊ xix. ꝑtic̃ que valent in grosso ꝑ a^{m} iij. s̄ .iiij. ꝺ. Sunt t̄ ibi de ꝑra arabli cōꝺsa in tres seisonas .CCj. acr̃ ⁊ xxxvj. ꝑtic̃ que valent ꝑ a^{m} s̄cꝺm diꝺsa ꝑcia .xij. lī .vij. s̄ .ix. ꝺ . Unde in una seisona vidꝺt in .ij. culturis in le Spitelfelꝺ .lxvij. acr̃ .xv. ꝑtic̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .xv. ꝺ . In s̄cꝺa seisona vidꝫ in duabꝫ pec̃ ex ꝑte occiꝺ del Spitelfelꝺ .viij. acr̃ .x. ꝑtic̃ dī . ⁊ in .ij. forlonge ex ꝑte aust^{a}li del Spitelfelꝺ usq; ad viam regiā subt^{o} Pendinas .lvij. acr̃ .j. roꝺ .xix. ꝑtic̃ dī . ꝑc̃ cuiusꝺt acr̃ .xv. ꝺ . Et in ꝑcia seison^{a} in le Vaugꝺcleit subꝑiori ex ꝑte boriali vie ꝑdc̃e .liiij. acr̃ dī ⁊ xvij. ꝑtic̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .xv. ꝺ . Et iꝺm ex ꝑte australi eiusꝺm vie .xv. acr̃ ⁊ .xiiij. ꝑtic̃ ꝑc̃ acr̃ .xij. ꝺ . Iꝺm sunt ibi de veꝑi frisc̃ in cult^{r}a voca^{r} [1] le Maorderū .xl. acr̃ dī ⁊ xxx. ꝑtic̃ que non valent conꝺti cū aliis seisonis ꝑre arabit̄ ꝑꝑ eoꝝ debilitatem q^{a}ꝑꝑ ordinant^{r} de ceꝑo ad past^{r}am bidenciū ⁊ valent ꝑ a^{m} .xx. s̄ .iiij. ꝺ . ꝑc̃ acr̃ vj. ꝺ.

Tꝑra arabit̄.

Sm^{a} toci^{o} ꝑre arabit̄—CCxliij acr̃ .iij. roꝺ dī ⁊ .v. ꝑtic̃ . vat̄ ꝑ a^{m}—xiij. lī .xj$^{s̄}$. v^{ꝺ}.

[1] So in the MS.

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Sunt t̄ ibi in đnic̄ .xxij. ac̄r .iij. rod ⁊ iij. ptic̄ p^{a}ti . Vidlt in magno p^{a}to simil iacent̄ .xvij. ac̄r .iij. rod dī ⁊ viij. ptic̄ . Et nūc ꝑdc̄m p^{a}tū ⁊ le Spitelfeld cū una ꝑua plac̄ int^{a} ꝓrā arabilē subꝓior cult^{r}e de Spitelfeld .iiij. ac̄r .iij. rod ⁊ .xv. ptic̄ ⁊ valent in uniuſo ꝑ a^{m} .lx. ſ .viij. đ . ꝑc̄ ac̄r ij. ſ .viij. đ.

Sm^{a} ac̄r p^{a}t̄ .xxij. ac̄r ⁊ xxxiij. ptic̄ q^{e} . vał ꝑ a^{m} .lx. ſ .viij. đ.

Et sunt ibi de pastura sepali in đnicis .lxxij. ac̄r ⁊ .xxxiij ptic̄ que valent ꝑ a^{m} . ſcđm diuſ ꝑc̄ .iiij. lī .vj. ſ . q^{a}. Unde in Marisco quod vocat^{r} le Frith .lxvj. ac̄r .j. rod di ⁊ .x. ptic̄ ꝑc̄ ac̄r .xv. đ . In quadam plac̄ inꝑ ꝓram arabił vidlt in campo desuꝑ le Spitelfeld j. rod dī ⁊ xvj. ptic̄ ꝑc̄ in toto iiij. đ . Iť̄m in .j. ꝑcelt subtus Pendinas .j. ac̄r .j. rod ⁊ .xv. ptic̄ ꝑc̄ ac̄r .xij. đ ⁊ a bosco de Pendinas usq; ad port̄ Manlii ex ut^{a}q; ꝑte le Longeclogh cū virid ex^{a} portā .iij ac̄r .iij. rod dī ⁊ xiij. ptic̄ . ꝑc̄ ac̄r iiij. đ.

Past^{r}a sepał.

[p. 215.]

Sm^{a} acraꝝ pasture—lxxij. ac̄r ⁊ xxxiij ptic̄ q^{e} . valt ꝑ a^{m} .iiij. lī .vj^{s}. q^{a}.

Est ibi unus boscus qui vocat^{r} Pendinas vestitus debili subbosco qui cōtinꝫ .xxxiij. ac̄r .iij. rod qui poꝓit amputari quolt duodecīo anno ⁊ tunc valebit ac̄r .iiij. ſ . Et sic si subboscus ꝓporcionet^{r} in .xij. ꝑtes equales valebit ꝑ annū .xj. ſ .iij. đ . Pastura dc̄i bosci si ita ꝓporcionet^{r} valebit n^{l}o^{9}—ij. ſ .ix. đ.

Boscus.

Sm^{a} acraꝝ bosci .xxxiij. ac̄r .iij. rod que vał ꝑ a^{m} si ꝓporc̄onet^{r}—xiiij. ſ.

Adam Anneiesone tenet ad voluntatem de ꝑdict̄ đnic̄ .j. plac̄ ꝓre cōt̄ .j. ac̄r .j. rod ⁊ .xj. ptic̄ subt^{9} boscū de Pendinas redđo ꝑ ea ꝑ a^{m} .vj. ſ . ad ꝓios Pent̄ ⁊ sc̄i Michis ꝑ eq^{a}les porc̄ones.

T$^{\text{v}}$)ra arentat̄ ad voluntat̄.

Iť̄m Adam ap Thornlee tenet iđm j. plac̄ ꝓre ad voluntatē đni que continet .iij. ac̄r . ⁊ xxv. ptic̄ . redđo ꝑ annū ad ꝓios ꝑdc̄os .v. ſ . equis porcōibꝫ.

Adam fit Ric̄i tenet iđm .j. plac̄ cont̄ ij. ac̄r .iij. rod ⁊ .xiiij. ptic̄ redđo ꝑ a^{m} ꝓis ꝑdc̄is .vj. ſ .vj. đ.

Ioñes de Rothelan tenet iðm .iiij. acr̃ .j. rod dī ꝛ .xxvij. ptič ꝓre assarť de bosč de Pendinas . r̃ . p̄ a^{m} .viij. s̄ . eisd ꝓīs . Et Ričus del Nant tenet iux^{a} le Maorderue quamd^{a}m plač ꝓre p̄ xvj. acr̃ ꝛ .iij. p̄tič ꝓre . r̃ . p̄ a^{m} ꝓīs ꝑdčis .viij. s̄.

Sm^{a} acra^{z} ꝓre arentať .xxviij. acr̃ .j. rod dī q^{e} redd p̄ a^{m} ad ij^{os}. ꝓīos—xxxiij. s̄ .vj. d̄.

Iťm p̄quis̄ Cuř estimant^{r} valere cōib^{z} annis—xiij. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

Sm^{a} patet.

Sm^{a} valoris tocius Maneř de Dynorbyn ī oīb^{z} exiť p̄ a^{m}—xxiiij. lī .x. s̄ .vij. d̄ q^{a}.

Et est ibi quedam Hamelť que p̄tiñ ad Maneř ꝑdčm ꝛ consistebat temporib^{z} Princip̄ integr̃ in manib^{z} Natīo^{z} qui consueuerūt face diūs consueť ꝛ opa ad Maneř de Dynorbyn que nūc eis arenť a tempore Comiť Lincolñ . Ita q̄d om̄es Natiui eiusd̄m Hamelť reddūt adinuicē p̄ annū p̄ om̄imodis redditib^{z} . consuetud̄ ꝛ opib^{z} ad ꝓīos Penť ꝛ sči Mičhis p̄ equales porč̄ones .xxxv. s̄ .x. d̄ . Et iid̄m Custumarii teñ inꝑ se hereditař totam illam Hamelť ꝑꝑ .xl. acr̃ dī . ꝛ xxx p̄tič que conꝟtunt^{r} in dōič Maneř sup^{a}dči . ꝛ ꝑꝑ .xxxviij. acr̃ dī que arenť inferius ut statim pať in posꝓum. } Hamelť de Mayrdreue.

Sm^{a} Reddiť ꝛ cons̄ Hamelť de Mayrdreue arenť in ꝓm̄is } Penť .xvij$^{s̄}$. xj. d̄. Sči Mičhis..xvij$^{s̄}$. xj$^{d̄}$ } s^{c} p̄ a^{m} .xxxv$^{s̄}$. x$^{d̄}$.

Cōitas ville tenet .xiiij. acr̃ de escaeť ꝑč̄ acr̃ .viij. d̄ . r̃ . p̄ a^{m} ad ij^{os} ꝓīos ꝑdč̄os .ix. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

Eadem Cōitas tenet .viij. acr̃ ꝓre eiusd̄m ꝑč̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .v. s̄ .iiij. d̄.

Willym Cam tenet .iij. acr̃ dī eiusd̄m ꝑč̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .xx. d̄.

Griff ap Iackꝑ tenet iiij. acr̃ eiusd̄ ꝑč̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .ij. s̄ .viij. d̄.

Ioñes de Rothelan tenet .iiij. acr̃ eiusd̄ ꝑč̄ . r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ .ij. s̄ .viij. d̄.

Ioñes de Pontefracto ꝛ Roƀtus de Castelford teñ q^{a}nd^{a}m plač vocať Thle Tee Madokꝑ que conť .vj. acr̃ r̃ . ꝑ . p̄ . in grosso .iiij. s̄. } Hamelť de Mayrdreue.

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Sm^{a} firm̃ de Mayrdreue ꝟ̃is { Penť .xij. ſ .x. d̄ . / Sc̃i Mich̄ .xij. ſ .x. d̄.

S^{c} p a^{m} xxv. ſ .viij. d̄ p xxxviij acr̃ dī ꝟre.

[p. 2 .6. Herbag̃. No^{a}.

Et sic supsunt de ꝑpte d̄ni ibm .xviij. acr̃ ꝟre ꝛt vasti p quaꝝ h̄bag̃ comunitas ville reddit p a^{m} . ad ij^{os}. ꝟ̃ios ꝺd̃cos .v. ſ . Et ĩn valeret quelibet acr̃ ad app^{n}and̄ p a^{m} . ad min^{9} iiij. d̄ . Et sic foret app^{n}amentū plus q^{a}m nunc .xij. d̄.

Sm^{a} herbag̃ p a^{m}—v. ſ.

Et sic restat clarus valor tocius Manꝺii cū villata de Dynorbyn Vaur p a^{m} . ī uniꝺso—xxvij. lī .xvij. ſ .j. d̄ q^{a}.

APPENDIX Bg.

Extent of the Villata of Tebrith.

Ros Ughdulas.

Extenta Cōmoti de Ugħdulas facta anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post cōquestū .viij°. App. Bg. A.D. 1335.

Dominus nichil ħet in đnico in Cōmoto de Ugħdulas nisi ꝑporcões que sibi acciderūt in diu̅sis villaꝛ̃ de quibꝫ porcõibꝫ ꝛ̃ndebitr̄ ꝛiferi⁹ in qualibet villaꝛ̃ ꝑ se . que quidem porcões acciderunt đno tāqa̅m escaeꝛ̃ ꝑtim raco̅ne mortuoꝝ contª pacem ꝑtim ꝑ defc̃u seruic̃ ꝛt c̃. [p. 246.]

Villata de Tebrith.

Tota villata de Tebrith cū Hamelt suis de Maencokϱ ꝛt Keuenkestiltħ tenetr̄ in quinꝙ lectis quoꝝ quodlibet lectū solebat reddere de Tungϱ dum fuit iutegr̄ in mañ viuoꝝ tenenc̃ .iiij. ß . ꝛmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ . Vidꝛt Wele Genthlyn ap Pithle . Wele Kemmyngϱ ap Pithle . Wele Cadugan ap Pithle . Wele Edeñ ap Pithle ꝛt Wele Risshard ap Pithle Et sunt om̄es tenentes in vilt ꝛt Hamelt ꝑdc̃is liđi Pⁱodaꝛ̃ ꝛt null⁹ Natiuus ꝛt vocantr̄ Wyrion Pithle.

Ioꝝ Gogħ ap Madoꝁ Eynon ap Yenafϱ ap Pħ . Dauid ap Ieuªn Gogħ Madokϱ ap Meurykϱ ap Heilyn tenent .iiij^or. ꝑtes istius Wele redđo de Tungϱ adinuicē ꝛmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ .iij. ß .ij. đ . ob̄ . Et ꝑ pasꝛ̃ Pⁱnc̃ ꝑ annū ad Natal Đni .xv. đ . Et isti cū cū[1] om̄ibꝫ aliis Priodaꝛ̃ isti⁹ ville reddunt adinuicē ꝑ pasꝛ̃ Pⁱnc̃ Međ xl^e . ij. ß . ad festū Naꝛ̃ Sc̃i Wele Genthlyn.

[1] So in the MS.

APP. B g

A.D. 1335.

Ioħis Baꝑte .ij. ſ ⁊ ad festū Exalt̄ Sc̃e Crucis .ij. ſ . Et facient om̃ia alia ꝺuic̃ in cōi cū om̃ibꝫ liꝺis istius Cōmoti, que patebunt inferius in fine istius Cōmoti . Et v^ta. ꝑs istius Cōmoti est escaet̄ ꝺni Unde r̃ndet^r inferius.

Griffᵽ ap Ꝺd ap Aur Madokᵽ ap Aur Vagh^an . Yeu^an Vagh^an ap Ieuan . Yeuan ap Ꝺd Aur . Ioꝝ Eynon ⁊ Dauid fr̃es eius Tuder ap Ioꝝ ap Aur . Heilyn Gruff ⁊ Dauid fr̃es eius Tuder ap Madokᵽ Vagh^an . Maꝺ fr eius . Yeu^an Guyn ap Maꝺ . Yeu^an ap Ꝺd ap Keñ . Yeu^an ap Ꝺd ap Madokᵽ . Bleth̄ ap Ioꝝ Vagh^an . Dauid fr eius Dauid ap Grono Vagh^an ap g̃g . Tuder fr eius Bleth̄ ap Ꝺd ap Griffry Eynon Gogh̄ ap Eynon ⁊ Ithel ap Grono Gogh̄ tenent tres ꝑtes isti^ꝰ Wele excepta inde xxxvj^ta ꝑte reꝺꝺo de Tungᵽ adinuicē ꝓmīo Oīm Sc̃oꝝ iij. ſ .ij. ꝺ . Et ꝑ pasc̄ P^inc̃ ad Natal Ꝺni .xiij. ꝺ q^a . ⁊ ceᵽa ꝺuicia cū aliis in cōi ut sup^a . Et .iiij^ta. ꝑs ⁊ xxxvj^ta. ꝑs ceᵽū triū ꝑciū isti^ꝰ Wele sūt escaet̄ ꝺni Uñ r̃ndet^r cū ceᵽis escaetis inferius.

Et om̃es isti liꝺi Priodaꝛ̄ r̃. aꝺluicē ꝑ Pasc̄ Staloñ ⁊ garc̃ lucr̃ cū canibꝫ ⁊ Pennak̄ ⁊ Waiss̄ bagħeyn ꝑ a^m. ad fm Exalt̄ Sc̃e Crucis iij. ſ .x. ꝺ . Et colligit^r inᵽ eos ꝑ eoꝝ catalla.

caue

Wele Kennyng.

Ioꝝ ap Willym ap Mereꝺuth̄ . Caꝺuḡ ap Willym ap Caꝺuḡ . Lꝛ̄ . Gogh̄ ap Ꝺd . Mereꝺuth̄ fr ei^ꝰ . Mereꝺuth̄ ap Lꝛ̄ Meiller . Ioꝝ ap Tud^r ap Eynon ⁊ Keñ ap Ꝺd Voyl ⁊ Hoel ap Ꝺd ap Doyokᵽ tenent medietatē ⁊ duodecimā ꝑtē isti^ꝰ Wele . r̃ . de Tungᵽ adinuicem ꝓmīo oīm Sc̃oꝝ .ij. ſ .iiij. ꝺ Et ꝑ pastu P^inciꝑ ad Natale Ꝺni—xj. ꝺ . Et ceᵽa ꝺuicia cū aliis in cōi ut sup^a . Et residuū istius Wele est escaet̄ ꝺni . Unde respondet^r cū ceᵽis escaetis inferius.

Wele Caꝺuḡ.

Mereꝺ ap Maꝺ ap Eynō . Ꝺd Loyd ap Lauwargh̄ . Tuder ap Griffuth̄ ap Groñ Eynon Gogh̄ ap Ꝺd . Groñ ap Ioꝝ Gogh̄ . Bleth̄ ap Ioꝝ ap Groñ ⁊ Griff ap Ioꝝ ap Groñ tenent totū istud

Wele Edeñ.

Wele redđo de Tungɋ adinuicem ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̃oz̨ .iiij. s̄ . Et ꝑ pastu Pⁱnc̃ ad Natal̃ Doⁱ .xviij đ . Et ceꝑa ꝗuic̃ in cōi cū aliis ut supª Et dn̄s nullam habet escaetā in isto Wele.

Wele Rissharđ.

Lauwargħ ap Meiller ap Caduḡ . Dauid ap Griffri ap Yenafɋ Eynon fr eius Dauid ap Edeñ ap Daniel ꝯ Edeñ fr eius tenent totū istud Wele . r̄ . de Tungɋ adinuicē ꝑmīo oīm Sc̃oz̨ .iiij. s̄ . Et ꝑ pasc̃ Princ̃ ad Nac̃ Dni .xviij. đ ꝯ ceꝑa ꝗuic̃ in cōi cū aliis supius . Et dn̄s nullam ħet escaec̃ in isto Wele.

Smª Tungɋ de Tebryth̄ ꝑ aᵐ. ꝑmīo Oīm Sc̃oz̨—xvjˢ. viijđ. ob̃.

Smª pastᵒ Pⁱnc̃ ꝑīs { Nac̃ Dni vjˢ .iij đ . ob̃ qª ; Međ .xlᵉ . . ij. s̄. ; Nat . s . Ioh̄ Bapc̃ . ij. s̄ ; Exalc̃ Sc̃e Crucis . ij. s̄ } Sic ꝑ aᵐ. xijˢ. iij đ ob̃ qª

Et contīet ꝑpars escaec̃ đni in vilꝯ Hamelꝯ ꝑdc̃is c .iiij.xxv. acr̃ dī ꝑre bosc̃ ꝯ vasc̃ que appuantr ut statim patebit in posꝑum.

* * *

APPENDIX Bh.

Extract from the Cymwd of Ughalet.

App. Bh. A.D. 1335. [p. 153.]

Et quicumq; eoꝝ obierit filius eius ꝛ ħes dabit đno ꝑ releũ anteq[a] eius hereditaꝛ optiñe possit v. ſ . Et si filius non ħuit tunc fraꝛ eius aut nepos aut consanguineus qui eius heres ꝑpinquior fuit videꝛt in ꝛcio gradu vel infra dabit ꝑ releũ suo x. ſ . Et qui in remoc̃ori gradu fuit q[a]m in ꝛtio non poꝛit heredit̃ exig̃e n[o] optinere q; ex[a] ꝛciũ gradũ nō est inꝛ eos descensus ħeditarius sꝫ in hoc cãu erit ꝛra puꝛ escaet̃ đni Tamen si đns velit ħi[9] ꝛram alicui tenenti dimittere cicuis dimittenda est ꝑpinquiori de sanguine illius a quo ꝛra illa sic accidit đno ꝑ defectu sanguinis ꝑpinquioris q[a]m alicui ext[a]nio ꝑ vero valore ꝛ c̃.

Item si quis eoꝝ seu quoꝝcumq; alioꝝ Naꝯioꝝ istius Cōmoti filiam suam maritaꝛit aut quecumq; filiaꝝ Natiũ seiꝑam maritaꝛit vl̃ eciam sup fornicacõe conuicta fuit dabit đno ꝑ amoꝛ v. ſ . Et si iꝑa forte non huit vnde solue ꝑpinquiores ꝑentes eius seu amici soluant ꝑ ea . Et eciam si vꝛ alicui[9] Natiui sup adulꝛio conuict̃ fuit maritus eius soluet ꝑ ea simiꝛ ꝑ amoꝛ v. ſ . Et ħ quocienscumq; alique eaꝝ ſr hui[9]mo[i] maritag̃ Fornicacõib; aut adulꝛiis cum diũs ꝑsonis comissꝛ seu iꝛatꝛ conuinci poꝛunt.[1]

[1] There is a similar statement at the end of the Extent of the Cymwd of Ros Ughdulas.

APPENDIX Bi.

Extract from the Cymwd of Ussalet.

App. Bi. A.D. 1335. [p. 148.]

Dicunt eciam q̃d fiꝛ liꝛi Preodaꝛ post mortem patris sui dabit đno ꝑ releuio suo añq[a]m heredit̃ suam possideat x. ſ . Et fraꝛ aut nepos aut consanguineus inf[a] ꝛciũ gradum ꝛ in ꝛcio gradu dabit ꝑ releuio suo post mortem anteq̃ sui anteq[a]m eius heredit̃ optineat xx. ſ . Et vlt[a] ꝛciũ gradũ non est inꝛ eos ius heredit̃ sꝫ erit ꝛra escaet̃ đni ꝑ defectu heredꝛ ꝛc̃.

APPENDIX C.

EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, A.D. 1326.

Additional MSS. 34135, *British Museum.*

Extenť oĩm terrarū et reddituū đni Eꝑi Meneũ facť ꝑ Magr̃m Dauid Fraunceys Cancellar̃ Menevenš tempore venerabił patris đni Dauid Martyñ . Dei gr̃a Eꝑi loci Anno Đni . Milłmo .CCC^{mo}. vicesimo sexto. [Fol. 1.]

App. C.

A.D. 1326.

* * *

Villa de Landewybreuy. [Fol. 35.]

Oweyñ ap Lł . Ythel Loyd . Gr̃ ap Ieu^{a}n . Ieu^{a}n Seys . Dauid ap Gruff Dun . Ieu^{a}n ap Gwelowe . Ieu^{a}n ap Gr̃ ap Lł . ꝛ Hõ ap Ieu^{a}n iurati iđm dicunt ꝑ sacr̃m eoꝝ q̃d dñs ħet iđm unā domum in villa Et vał ꝑ annū ad locand ij. š.

* * *

Patria de Landewybreuy. [Fol. 36.]

* * *

Ił̃m dicūt q̃d sunt ibid .viij. lecti qui vocant^{r} Gwely de p^{i}mo Gwely Lł ap Vryeñ . Iorꝛth Gogħ . Iorꝛth ap Gr̃ . ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd đno ꝑ annū .iij. š .iiij. đ ad fm sc̃i Micħ . De sc̃do Gwely sunt Kediuor ap Cradoc . Gwasmyhangel ap Cradoc ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd đnò ꝑ annū iij. š .iiij. đ . eod ꝑmīo . De tercio . Gwely sūt Cadog^{a}n Capłłus Eueř fił Capłłi . Iorꝛth ap Cradoc ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd đno iij. š .iiij. đ eod ꝑio . De quarto . Gwely sūt Gronou ap Duthgu . Dauid ap Gwyon . Trah^{a}rn ap Ithel ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd đno ꝑ annū iij. š .iiij. đ . De

Liđi teñt.

APP. C.

A.D. 1326.

quinto . Gwely sunt Dauid ap Traharñ Pℏ ap Cadogañ . Eynoñ Vaghᵃn ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd ðno ꝑ annū iij. s .iiij. d . eod ꝯ . De sexto . Gwely sunt Pℏ ap Cadrand . Gurgeñ fraꝯ eius Dauid Dauid frater eiusdm ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd ðno ꝑ aᵐ .iij. s .iiij. d . eod ꝯ . De septimo . Gwely sunt Meileř Capℏus Dauid ap Auel Gwas Dewy Vaghᵃn . ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd ðno ꝑ aᵐ .iij. s .iiij d. eod ꝯo. De octauo . Gwely sunt Dauid Coyg̃ Dauid ap Zossetℏ . Cadogañ ap Dd . ꝛ descendentes ab eisd redd ðno ꝑ annū iij. s .iiij. d . eod ꝯo . Et oēs ꝑdči tenent ꝑ antiquam tenurā vidz ꝑ Acℏ ꝛ Edriđ.

Smᵃ—xxvj. s .viij. d.

Seruič. Et oēs ꝑdči dabūt ꝑ ℏietř .vij. s vj. d . Et dabūt ꝑ leyrwiť .ij. s . Et quolz iijˢ anno ꝑ cōmortℏ in kℏñ Maii .viij. vacč . Et sic diuidendo quolz .iijˢ. anno est valor ðno .xvij. s .ix. d . Et dabūt pannag̃ vi3 ubi vij porci vl ꝑres fuint .j. Et si paučores nt . Ita q̃d dñs porcoꝝ eligat .ij. de uniuso ꝛ dñs funai ꝯciū Et cariare đent grossū ℳem̃ q̃d tᵃhi non potest ꝑ .j. equū de foresta de Atꝑ usq; Maℳiū de Landogy ꝑ quinq; domibz ibid faciend viz aula Caℳa đni Coquina staƀlo ꝛ grang̃ sumptibz suis Et cariare đent grosš ℳem̃ ꝑ molend quociens opus fuit . Et emendare fossam eiusd Et molares eiusd cariare sumptibz eoꝝ . Et fač sečť ad molend Et dicūt q̃d heredes cuiᵒlīt compelli đent ad recipiend ℏeditať post mortem penť faciend inde suič debiť ꝛ consueť . Et duče đent prisones apud villa[1] de Landewy Et de villa usq; Lawhad quociens opus fuit sūptibz suis Et fač sečť Cuř de .iij. sepť in .iij. sepť . Et est cōe aℳciamenť eoꝝ .vij. s .vj. d .

Aℳciamēt vij. s .vj. d

Et in Nunđ ibiđ fač clausurā modo ꝛ locis consueť cū quinq; villis sequeñ sūptibz suis . Et oēs tenentes libꝝ de Cardiganshire solue đent tholloñ de rebz ꝛ aĩalibz vend ꝛ empť . Et valent dicť suič ꝛ consš ꝑ estimacōem

Smᵃ—

* * *

[1] So in the MS.

Carthely.

Iŧ dicunt q̃d pŧiŧ ⁊ ꝑquiš iƀm valent ꝑ annū .iij. š. APP. C.

Iŧ dicūt q̃d est iƀm .j. lectus qui vocat^{r} . Gwely . de quo sūt Ieu^{a}n Vagh^{a}n ap Ieu^{a}n Wyth Lewel ap Gurgeñ . Gruff Hageř ⁊ descendenť ab eisd redd đno ꝑ annū .vj. š .viij. đ . ad fm sc̃i Mich. A.D. 1326. [Fol. 37.] ꝑficua. Liƀi.

Sm^{a}—

Et om̃es ꝑdc̃i dabūt unā vaccā quol3 .iij. anno in kl̃ñ Maii ꝑ Cōmorth . Et val3 porc̃o cuiuslīt anni .ij. š .ij. đ . Et facient oĩa ꝓuic̃ ⁊ conš ut dc̃i tenentes de p̃ria de Landewybreny. Seruič.

* * *

Llannon.

[Fol. 38.]

Eynon ap Wylym . Cadogañ ap Ieu^{a}n ⁊ Ieu^{a}n ap Howel . iurati ibid dicunt ꝑ sacr̃m eoꝝ q̃d pŧiŧ ⁊ ꝑquiš Cuř iƀm transeūt cū Cuř de Landewy Aberarth . Iŧ dicūt q̃d est iƀm unus lectus qui dicit^{r} Gwely de quo sunt dc̃i iurať cū sequela ⁊ descendenť ab eisd redd đno ꝑ annū .vj. š .viij. đ ad fm sc̃i Mich. Liƀi. Infra parochiam de Llansanfrede.[1]

Sm^{a}—

Et om̃es ꝓdc̃i dabūt quol3 .iij^{o}. anno in kl̃ñ Maii unā vac̃ ꝑ cōmorth Et val3 porcio cui^{9}lĩt anni .ij. š .ij. đ. Et fac̃ om̃ia ꝓuic̃ ⁊ consuetud ut ꝓdc̃i tenentes de Landewybreny. Seruič.

Sm^{a}—

* * *

[Fol. 39.]

Bangor.

Iŧ dicūt q̃d sunt iƀm .iiij^{or}. lecti de quib3 p^{i}mus vocat^{r}. Gwely Euewris de quo sunt tenenť Lewel Capŧus Gruff ap Ieu^{a}n ⁊ eoꝝ cōporc̃ Et redd đno ꝑ a^{m} .v. š ad fm sc̃i Mich . Et sc̃dus lectus vo^{r} . Gwely Oyroñ . redewyth de quo sunt tenentes Ywerythh fiŧ Gronou Ieu^{a}n ap Ricard . Res ap Gr̃ ⁊ eoꝝ comporc̃ . Et redd đno ꝑ annū .v. š eođ ℔ . Et .iij^{9}. lect^{9} Tenenť iƀm.

[1] In a later hand.

APP. C. A.D. 1326. [Fol. 54. Liber.

vor . Oyroñ cuelyn de quo sūt tenentes Gruff ap Res . Ieun ap Adafc ⁊ eor comporc̃ . Et redd̃ dno p am .v. s eodm mino.

Sma .xx. s.

* * *

Archinatus Brechoñ . Glastoñ.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibm .iij. lecti qui vulgo vocantr Gwele. De p° Gwele est stipes Cregc ⁊ descendentes ab eod redd̃ dno p am .iiij. s . ad fm sci Mich . Et de sc̃do lecto est stipes Kenyllyn ⁊ descend̃ ab eod̃ redd̃ dno p annū .iiij. s eod̃ mio . Et de .iij. lecto Kywryd̃ est stipes ⁊ descend̃ ab eod̃ redd̃ dno p am .iiij. s . eod̃ mio.

Sm —xij. s.

APPENDIX D.

INQUISITION CONCERNING THE SEIZURE BY PRINCE LLEWELYN OF LANDS HELD IN DOWER BY A WIDOW, AND CHARTERS OF GRIFFIN, SON OF MADOC, LORD OF BROMFELD, GRANTING THE VILLÆ OF HENGEMERE, LANERPANNA, AND CNOLTON, AND THE MANOR OF EYTUNE, IN MAELOR SEYSNEK, TO EMMA, HIS WIFE, FOR HER LIFE; AND CONFIRMATION BY HIS SONS MADOC, LLYWELYN, OWEN, AND GRIFFIN, A.D. 1270.

Chancery Inquisition post Mortem, 5 *Edw. I.*, *No.* 78, *Public Record Office.*

APP. D. A.D. 1270. (m. 1.)

Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hiƀn ꝛ Dux Aquit̃ dilc̃o ꝛ fideli suo Guncelino de Batelesm̃e Iustic̃ suo Cestr̃ salutem . Monstrauit noƀ Emma que fuit vx̃ Griffini fił Madocii q̃d cum ip̃a tenuisset Maneria de Ouertoñ ꝛ Etoñ cum ꝑtiñ ꝛ quasdam ꝓras ꝛ teñ in Maylor Sesnek̃ de dono ꝓdc̃i Griffini q°ndam viri sui Habend̃ ad totam vitam eiusdem Emme et ip̃a in pacifica seisina Mañlioꝝ ꝓraꝝ ꝛ teñ ꝓdc̃oꝝ semꝑ hactenus sc̃dm c̃suetudinē ꝑciū illaꝝ extitit Balti ñri de Brumeffeud ip̃am a seisina sua Mañlioꝝ ꝓraꝝ ꝛ teñ illoꝝ eiecerunt et ea ei adhuc detinent in ip̃ius Emme dāpnū nō modicum ꝛ g[a]uamen Nos igit[r] sup ꝓmissis c̃tiorari volentes, voƀ mandam[s] q̃d ꝑ sacr̃m ꝑboꝝ ꝛ leg̃ hōiñm de ꝑtibꝫ de Brummeffeud ꝑ quos rei veritas melius sciri poꝛit diligent[s] inquiratis, quis Mañlia illa ꝓras ꝛ teñ ꝓfate Emme contulit, et si ei collata fuint tenenda ad ꝓminū vite ꝑ feoffamentum ꝓfati Griffini ūl in dotē et si ad ꝓminū vite qualiꝛ ꝛ quomodo ꝛ si in dotem

App. D A.D. 1270. qualiꝫ ꝯ quomodo et si p̄ balłos ñros ūl alios eiecta fuit a seisina sua p̄dca et si p̄ balłos ñros qualiꝫ ꝯ qua de causa . et si p̄ alios p̄ quos ꝯ qualiꝫ ꝯ qua de causa Et inquisicōem inde distincte ꝯ apte fc̄am sub sigillo v̄ro ꝯ sigilł eoꝝ p̄ quos fca fuit noꝺ sine dilōe mittatis ꝯ hoc bf̄e T̄ me ip̄o ap̄d Wygorn̄ vj die Juł anno r̄ n̄ q̄nto.

(m. 2.) Inquiꝭ fca p̄ Guncelinū de Badelesm̄e Iustic̄ Cestr̄ die Martis p̄x̄ ante festum sc̄e Margarete anno r̄ r̄ Ē. q̄nto ap̄d Fardoñ sc̄dm tenorē b̄ris d̄ni Reg̃ sibi directi p̄ subsc̄ptos videlicet Houel ab Lewelyn . Ingnon fił Lewelyñ . Yoruerth fił Kenewrikᵹ . Joruerth fił Griffuñ . Houa fił Ph̄i . Maddokᵹ fił Houel . Houa Waghan . Maddokᵹ Waghan . Kenewrikᵹ fr̄em eius . Kenewrikᵹ fił Yonas . Houen fr̄em eius . Howeyn fił Ph̄i . Bleth̄in Wich̄ . Blethin fił Maddoci . Gronou fił Ythel . Kenewrikᵹ fił Lewelyn . Kenewrikᵹ fił Griffuñ ꝯ Geruasium fił Eyner . Juratos . qui dicūt sup̄ sacr̄ū suū q̃d Griffinus de Brumfeld quando Emmam fił Henr̄ de Aldetheliḡ duxit in vx̄m dedit eidē Emme Manliū de Outoñ ꝯ Malor Saysnekᵹ cū om̄ibꝫ p̄tiñ ad ꝰminū vite sue ꝯ eadem Emma p̄ balliuū suū Jur̄ omnia explet̄ dc̄i Manlii cep̄ ad opus suū p̄p̄ium toto t̄pe vite dc̄i Griffini viri sui . Requisiti ꝛ si illud Manliū cū Malor Saysnekᵹ collatū fuit eidē nōie feofamenti v̄l dotis . dicūt q̃d p̄ feoffamentū dc̄i Griffini ꝯ p̄ cartam suam quam porexit ibidem . Req̄siti ꝛ qᵃliꝫ ꝯ quomodo dc̄a Emma venit ad manliū de [E]yton dicūt q̃d dc̄m Manliū fuit eschaet̄ dc̄i Griffini p̄ mortē Howeł fr̄is eius . ꝯ postqᵃm idem Griffinus inde ł̄uit bonam ꝯ pacificā seiꝭ [ꝯ] Manlium p̄dc̄m dedit dc̄e Emme vx̄ sue . Req̄siti . si noīe dotis v̄l feoffamenti . dicūt q̃d p̄ feoffamentū ꝯ p̄ quandā cartā qᵃm porrexit ibid̄ que illud idē testatr̄ Simul cū cōfirmacōe hered̄ dc̄i Griffini qᵃm eidē Emme fecerūt post mortē dc̄i Griffini ꝯ cū cōfirmacōe Lewelini tunc p̄ncipis Walł que om̄es donacōes ꝯfirmauit. Requiꝭ ꝛ qᵃliꝫ ꝯ qᵒmodo . dicūt q̃d ꝯsuetudo Walł est q̃d vnusq̄sq̄ Walicus ad voluntatē suā dare potest vx̄ sue terras ꝯ ten sua ante sponsalia v̄l post p̄ut sibi cederit volūtati. Req̄siti ꝛ si p̄ balłos d̄ni

Regℓ dc̃a Emma eiecta fuit de ꝑris ꝛ teñ ꝑdc̃is vl̃ ꝑ alios: Dicūt q̃d post mortē dc̃i Griffini eadē Emma stetit in seiš de oīmib3 ꝑris ꝛ teñ ꝑdc̃is usq; Guerram inceptam inꝑ Angł ꝛ Walł ꝛ extunc eo q̃d dc̃a Emma fuit ad fidē d̄ni Regℓ in Angł dc̃us Lewelinus ipsam de oīmib3 ꝑris ꝛ teñ ꝑdc̃is eiecit ꝛ dc̃as ꝑras ꝛ teñ reddidit Madoco fił Griffini. Dicūt ꝫ q̃d consuetudo Wallie tał q̃d quocienscūq; aliquis ꝑ timore guerre vl̃ alia occ̃one reliquerit ꝑram suā ꝛ recesserit de Wallia ad alias ꝑtes bene licebit d̄no ꝑram illā seysire tāq; escaetā suam ꝛ face inde voluntatē suam.

App. D.

A.D. 1270.

[*Endorsed*]

dedit x. ħi . redditus de Maylor Seysnekℓ ꝛ ꝑtē d̄nicaz de Oꝛtoñ scił gᵃngiam in bosco ꝛ assarꝛ que eadē Emma assartauit ꝛ piscar̃ ꝛ Molend̄.

Expectet reditū regis a Wallia.

Sciant presentes ꝛ futᵘri q̃d ego Griffinus fił Madoci d̄ns de Bromfeld assenssu ꝛ cōsensu hered̄ meoz dedi ꝛ cōcessi ꝛ hac presenti carta mea cōfirmaui d̄ne Emme vxor̃ mee legitime filie d̄ni Henr̃ de Audidele totam patłam que vocatᵘ Maylorseysnec quoad uixerit videłt Maħium de Oꝛtoñ cū Molend̄ ꝛ Gurgite ꝛ oīmib3 aliis ꝑtiñ suis, villam de Hengeme cū suis ꝑtiñ . Villam de Lanerpanna cū suis ꝑtiñ . Cnoltoñ cū suis ꝑtiñ ꝛ oīes villas que infra limites ꝑdc̃e patłe de Mailorseysnec cōtinentᵘ ꝑut ego melius ꝛ liberiᵖ dc̃am patłam ħui ꝛ dare potui . ita tamen q̃d nō possit dc̃am patłam ūl aliq; ꝑtē eiusdē dare vendere ūl inuadiare ūl aliquo modo alienare . set post obitū illiᵖ ꝑdc̃a patła ad me ūl hered̄ meos reꝛtet . Et q̃d dc̃a ꝑra a d̄no Walł nō subtᵃhatᵘ . Et ut hec mea donac̃o ꝛ cōcessio quoad uixerit rata ꝛ stabił ꝑmaneat ꝑsens scłptū sigilli mei inpressione robboraui. (m. 3.)

Hiis testib3 d̄no Aniano Ep̃o de Sc̃o Asaf . d̄no Yarwarth abb̃e de Valle crucis . Madoco . Leulino . Oweno . Griffino . filiis meis . Dno Dauid, decano de Bromfeld . Nenneau fił

APP. D. A.D. 1270. (m. 4.)

Ener . Riric fit Ener . Griffry fit Ener . Yeua Vawan . Gorono fit Hithel . Bledint fit Yarwarth ⁊ aliis.

Sciant ꝑsentes ⁊ futuri q̄ ego Griffinus filius Madoci dñs de Bromfeld assensu ⁊ consensu ħedū meoꝝ dedi concessi ⁊ hac ꝑsenti carta mea confᵐmaui đne Emme uxori mee legitime filie đni Henr̄ de Aldedeleg̃ totū Mañiū meū de Eytune in Malauor Kemeraec cū oīmibꝫ ꝓtiñ suis infra villā ⁊ extᵃ in dominiis in boscis in ꝑcis in campis in planis in pᵃtis in pascuis in pasturis in viis in semitis aqᵘs stagnis viuariis gurgitibꝫ piscariis Molendinis ⁊ in oīmibꝫ liƀtatibꝫ ⁊ aisiamentis quas ħui ūl ħ[ere] potui ⁊ in oīmibꝫ aliis ꝓtiñ suis ꝑdc̄o Mañio spᶜtantib; vna cū qᵃdā Terra que jacet infra clausū ꝑci de Eytune qᵃm dñs Howelus pie memorie emit de oīmibꝫ ħedibꝫ de Herbystoke Reddēdo eisdem annuatim xij galones ceruiꝭ ūl ꝑciū eaꝫdē ad festꝫ Sc̄i Micħis vna cū quadā ꝓticula alia ꝑre q̄ Jacet in ꝓco ꝑdc̄o qᵃm ħedes de Erbystoke spontanea eoꝝ volūtate tᵃdiderūt M¹ . H̄ndū ⁊ Tenend̄ de Me ⁊ ħedibꝫ meis, sᵘ in tota vita sua adeo liƀo ⁊ Integro sicuti ego umqᵃm liƀius ⁊ plenius illud ħui ūl ħre potui Ita tamen q̄d post decessū ꝑdc̄e đne Emme reūtatʳ ꝑdc̄m Mañiū cū oīmibꝫ ꝓtiñ suis [mihi] ⁊ hered̄ meis Reddendo inde annuatī M¹ ⁊ ħedibꝫ meis iꝑa unū par albaꝝ cyrotecaꝝ de ꝑc̄o uniᵒ denar̄ ad festꝫ Sc̄i Micħis ꝓ oīmi ꝟuic̄o sc̄lari exacc̄one ⁊ demanda . Ego ꝟo dc̄us Griffinus ⁊ hꝺedes mei ꝑdc̄m Mañiū cū oīmibꝫ ꝓtiñ suis sicut ꝑdc̄m est ꝑdc̄e đne Emme qᵃmdiu viꝛit contᵃ oīs hoīes Warantizabimᵒ ⁊ defendemᵒ . In cuiᵒ rei testimoñ huic scᵘpto sigillū meū apposui.

Hiis testibꝫ fr̄e Aniano tūc Eꝑo de Sc̄o Assapħ . fr̄e Geruasio tūc Abƀe de Valle Crucis . Madoco . Lewelino . Oweyno . Griffino filiis meis . Dauid̄ tūc Decano de Bromfeld̄ . Juna fit Ahur . Ahur fit Iunaf . Huna fit Loreuret . Greno fit Ioreuert . Lewelino fit Eyner . Iuna Vauehan . Nennio fit Ener . Ithenanet fit Dauid̄ ⁊ aliis.

[*Endorsed*] Emma filia Griffᵘ ap Madoc.

R̄ inꝑ Inquiꝭ de Aᵒ . vjᵒ Aui.

Sciant ꝑsentes ⁊ futuri q̄d nos Madocus Leuuelin⁹ Owen⁹ Griffinus filii Griffini d̄ni de Bromfeld̄ concessim⁹ ⁊ hac ꝑsenti carta ñra cōfⁱmauim⁹ d̄ne Emme matⁱ ñre q°ad uix̄it oñs ꝑras ⁊ om̄ia tenementa que dñs Griffin⁹ p̄r ñr in vita sua eidē dedit ⁊ cōcessit Videl̄ patⁱam de Mailor Saisenec cū suis ꝓtiñ Mañiū de Oũtoñ cū Molendino ⁊ gurgite ⁊ om̄ib̄ aliis ꝓtiñ . Villam de Hagnem̃e cū suis ꝓtiñ . Lannerpanna cū suis ꝓtiñ Coltoñ cū suis ꝓtiñ ⁊ oñs villas q̄ infᵃ limites patⁱe de Mailor Saisenec cōtinentʳ . Mañiū de Eyton in Mailor Kemerac cū Molendino ⁊ ꝓco ⁊ om̄ib̄ aliis ꝓtiñ Et duab̄ ꝓticulis ꝑre in dc̄o ꝓco contentis quaꝝ unā emit domin⁹ Houuelus filius Madoci de om̄ib̄ ħedib̄ de Herbestoc. Reddendo eisdem annuatim xij galones Ceruisie ūl ꝑciū eaꝝdem ad fesť sc̄i Micħis Aliā ũo ꝓtic̄lam tradiderūt predc̄i ħedes de Herbestoc sponte sua d̄no G . p̄ri ñro Villā de Lanarmon cū suis ꝓtiñ in Kenlleitoñ una cū ꝑris illis qᵃs d̄na Ysota auia ñra ex consensu d̄ni Madoci aui ñri ⁊ d̄ni G . p̄ris ñri emit de Cadegon ⁊ Ririt ⁊ Einon filiis Doyoc que vocantʳ Lloytteir ⁊ ꝑstimand̄ . H̄nda ⁊ tenenda om̄ia ꝑdc̄a tenementa cū suis ꝓtiñ de no᷒ ⁊ ħedib̄ ñris q°ad uix̄it ꝓut liᷠbius ⁊ melius c̄tinentʳ in cartis eid̄ a ꝑdc̄o G . p̄re ñro cōfectis . Et ut ħ ñra cōcessio ⁊ ꝑsentis carte ñre confⁱmac̄o q°ad uix̄it rata ꝓmaneat ꝑsentē cartā sigillis ñris roborauim⁹.

Hiis testib̄ d̄no Aniano Ep̄o de Sc̄o Asaf . Dauid̄ decano de Bromfeld̄ . Fr̃e Kenewrike Priore de Buthlan . d̄no Geruasio Abb̃e de Valle Crucis . Nenneau fiᵗ Ener . Baric fiᵗ Ener . Yaruorth uoyl fiᵗ Yaruorth uauhan . Madoco uauhan fiᵗ Madoci fiᵗ Oweyn . Blethint fiᵗ Yaruorth̄ . Huna fiᵗ Yaruorth . Madoco fiᵗ Yeinaf . Eynon fiᵗ Lewelini . Gorono fiᵗ yaruorth . Lewelino fiᵗ Ener . Howelo fiᵗ Dauid̄ . Yena fiᵗ Auf̃ . Auf̃ fiᵗ Yeina . Meuric Vauhan . Ithel fiᵗ Gorono . Yaruorth fiᵗ Wyon . Yena Vauhan ⁊ aliis . Daᵗ Dynasbrin in cᵃstino b̃i Thom̃ Ap̄li Anno d̄ni M° cc° lxx°.

APPENDIX E.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF A GWELY OF NATIVI HOLDING IN TREFGIFRIF IN THE VILLA OF BRYNGWYN, A.D. 1355.

P. E
.D.
55.

Hec indentura facta inter Venerabilem Patrem dominum Iohannem Dei gratia Assaviensem Episcopum Decanum et Capitulum Assavenses ex una parte, et proprietarios et coheredes illius lecti vocati Gwely Gwarthhoet in villa de Bryngwynes . . . ex altera testatur Quod cum predicti proprietarii et coheredes semper ante hec tempora nativi vocati fuerunt et eorum terras et tenementa ibidem sub conditione trefgyfrif tenuerunt, predictus venerabilis Pater Decanus et capitulum pro se et successoribus suis ad supplicationem predictorum proprietariorum et coheredum ipsos et heredes suos et terras et tenementa ipsorum a conditione illa de cetero liberaverunt . et exoneraverunt in perpetuum et illos ejusdem conditionis sicuti et proprietarii [et coheredes] illius Lecti vocati Gwely Ithelwr in eadem villa existentis in omnibus fecerunt, ita quod predicti proprietarii et coheredes predicti lecti vocati Gwely Gwarthhoet et heredes sui de cetero in perpetuum solvant domino . . . marcas annui redditus in festo Apostolorum Philipi et Iacobi pro hac concessione habenda ubi antea quinque solidos hujus redditus in festo predicto solvere consueverunt In cujus rei testationem predicte partes huic indenture alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt His testibus Roberto ap Gruffud . tunc Ragloto domini Episcopi . Lew . . . ap Madoc Loyt . tunc yconomo ejusdem . Eden Moel ap Bleth Duy . tunc Ringildo ibidem . Eynon ap Ken ap Bleth . Lewarch ap Eign . Heilyn ap Bleth ap Grono et domino Ithel Duy ap David ap Lewarch et aliis multis . Datum apud Sanctum Assaphum die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno Domini milessimo tricentessimo quinquegessimo quinto [1355].

APPENDIX F.*

EXCHEQUER K. R. EXTENTS. ROLL 51.

Public Record Office.

Inquisic̃o capta ap̃d Lampadar̃ die Ven̄is px̃ ante f̃m Natiuitat̨ b̃te Marie Anno Regñ Reg̨ Edwardi T[i]cesimo q[a]rto coram Joh̃e Skydemor Consẽ castri de Lampadar̃ ⁊ Mauric̃o de Nouo cast[o] p dñ̄os Joh̃em de Foxeley ⁊ Thom̃ de Grauntebryggḡ p[i]ncipales auditores compotoꝝ de t̃ris dñ̄i p[i]ncip̃ toci⁹ Walt̃e sp̃atr assig[a]t̃ ad inquirend̄ sup diu̇sis callumpñ tangentibꝫ comp̃ Henr̃ Le Yonḡ custod̄ mortue garnist[r]e cast[i] p̃dc̃i de tempe dñ̄i T̃ de Miltoñ quondam cam̃ar̃ West Walte que quid̄m callumpnie inferi⁹ patebunt p responsiones iuratoꝝ vidꝫ p Wilt̃m cam Wilt̃m Levonner Walt̃m Wyith Dauid ab Walt̃ Dauid ygrug̨ Walt̃ ab Dauid burgenš ville de Lampadar̃ Wilt̃m plomm̃ Joh̃em de la Hey Janitorē Ric̃m de Lanley Sampson c̄licum Robt̃um le Marchal ⁊ Wilt̃m Hod existentes in garnist[r]a cast[i] p̃dc̃i Juratos Qui dicunt p sac[a]mentū suū q̃d dc̃s Henric⁹ on̄at se min⁹ q[a]m debet in compoto suo de xx deñ de p̃c̃o cui⁹lꝫ q[a]rt̃ii de xvij q[a]rt̃ fr̃i in vendic̃one computat̨ Et de iiij[xx] xvj q[a]rt̃ fr̃i comp̃ in corrupc̃oe ⁊ consumpc̃oe ꝰmiñ vendidit seu vendere potuit ad cōmodū dñ̄i xvj q[a]rt̃ fr̃i p̃c̃ cui⁹lꝫ q[a]rt̃ iiij. s̄. Et hoc p⁹q[a] habuit in p̃cept̃ illud fr̃m expon̄e vendic̃oi Residuū ꝰo illi⁹ fr̃i expendit̃ fuit p parte in porc̃ dñ̄i pascend̄ ⁊ p parte alia pi[c]tum fuit in mar̃ It̃m dicūt q̃d id̄m H. on̄at se min⁹ de viij. đ. de p̃c̃o cui⁹lꝫ q[a]rt̃ de x q[a]t̃ fab̃ comp̃ in vend̄ Et de xix q[a]rt̃ fab̃ de quibꝫ nō fit menc̃o in lib̃ac̃oe

APP. F.

(m. 1.)

* The grammatical errors are so numerous in the original that the transcriber has left many unnoticed.

App. F.

sua. Vendidit vj q^{a}r̄ p̄c̄ cui^{o}l$_{3}$ iij. s. iiij. d. Et alia vj q^{a}r̄ vend̄ p̄c̄ cui^{o}l$_{3}$ q^{a}r̄ ij. s. iiij. d. Residuū expend̄ in porc$_{9}$ d̄ni pascend̄ Iī̄m d̄nt q̄d id̄m H. concessit hōib$_{3}$ p̲rie xxvj q^{a}r̄ fa$_{7}$ aueñ que computant^{r} in vendic̄oe v$_{3}$ q̄dl$_{3}$ q^{a}r̄ p̲ ij s. p̲ pilkorñ Ita q̄d respond̄ent s^{i} de j q^{a}r̄ pilkorñ nouo p̲ j q^{a}r̄ fa$_{7}$ antiq̄ que adhuc remanent in castro licet in comp̄ suo computent^{r} in vendicōne Et de aliis xxxiiij q^{a}r̄ fa$_{7}$ vend̄ x q^{a}r̄ p̄c̄o cui^{o}l$_{3}$ q^{a}r̄ iiij. s. Residuū illi^{o} fa$_{7}$ p̲iecit in ma$_{7}$ vt credunt Dicūt q̄d de bra$_{s}$ cap̄ ⁊ de bra$_{s}$ cur$_{s}$ nō possunt d̄re aliud q^{a}m in comp̄ dc̄i H. continet^{r} D̄nt ⁊ q̄d p̄dc̄s H. vend̄ xx iiijviij q^{a}r̄ auena$_{7}$ minu$_{s}$ p̄c̄o cui^{o}l$_{7}$ q^{a}r̄ x. d. Et ip̄e id̄m recep̄ p̄ciū eo$_{7}$d̄m licet contineat^{r} in comp̄ suo q̄d dn̄s Thom̄ de Miltoñ debuisset recepisse. Iī̄m d̄nt q̄d de vij do$_{l}$ vini comput$_{9}$ in abi^{o}cōne ext^{a} muros id̄m H. vend̄ j do$_{l}$ in ta$_{b}$nando v$_{3}$ lageñ p̲ ij. d. Et vend̄ alia iij do$_{l}$ Ro$_{g}$o le carempt̄ in grosso p̲ l. s. p̄sentib$_{3}$ . . Cons$_{t}$ ⁊ quib$_{3}$dam aliis burgens ville vnde id̄m . . cons$_{t}$ fecit tal$_{l}$ cont^{a} dc̄m Ro$_{g}$m de sum̄a p̄dc̄a ⁊ eam t^{a}didit dc̄o Henr̄ no$_{i}$e ip̄i^{o} Ro$_{g}$i Set dc̄s Ro$_{g}$s illud vinū nō quesiuit in cast^{o} que fuit causa ignorant iurati sup^{a}dc̄i Residuū vini ei^{o}tū fuit vt computatur Iī̄m d̄nt q̄d id̄m H. vt credunt bñ computauit dimid̄ do$_{l}$ mel$_{l}$ in p^{r}ificacōne seu in em̄dac̄oe ei^{o}d̄m Set vend̄ viij do$_{l}$ mel$_{l}$ p̄c̄o cui^{o}l$_{3}$ do$_{l}$ v. Marc̄ ⁊ dī Et alia t^{a} do$_{l}$ remañt in cast^{o} vt in comp̄ continet^{r}. Iī̄m d̄nt q̄d id̄m H. o$_{n}$at se min^{o} j do$_{l}$ sa$_{l}$ q^{a}m de$_{b}$et. Iī̄m dicūt q̄d o$_{n}$at se min^{o} q$_{m}^{a}$ de$_{b}$et de iiij. d. de p̄c̄o cui^{o}l$_{3}$ carco$_{s}$ boū de lxv carco$_{s}$ in comp̄ suo vendit$_{9}$ D̄nt ⁊ q̄d illa lxv carco$_{s}$ boū fue$_{r}$ sic vendita remans$_{u}$t de instauro empto tempe Ro$_{b}$ti de Tybotot D̄nt ⁊ q̄d de bacconib$_{3}$ ⁊ alle$_{c}$ nō possunt aliud dic̄e q^{a}m q̄d continet^{r} in comp̄ p̄dc̄i Henr̄. Dicūt ⁊ q̄d de D. du$_{r}$ piscib$_{3}$ cōputat$_{9}$ in comp̄ suo remañt̄ corrupt̄ q̄d id̄m H. vend̄ quosdam nescit^{r} t̄n ad q̄m nu$_{m}$. Requisit̄ de p̄c̄o vendito$_{7}$ d̄nt q̄d quidam

vendebant^{r} ꝑ j.đ. quidam ꝑ j deñ ꝛ ob ꝛ vt essent ⁊ti de nũo remanenciũ fec⁊unt eos nuᵐar ꝛ inuenᵐũt iiij^{o} ꝛ nō plus D̃nt ꝛ q̃d de cepo ferr̃ plumb carboñ Mar̃ ballist̃ baudr̃ q^{a}r̃ springal̃ cacab̃ pattell̃ ꝛ Ciliĉ ad torale nich̃ possunt đre aliud q^{a}m q̃d in comꝑ ꝑdĉi H. continet^{r} Hoc excepꝯ q̃d lic⁊ tũc ferrũ remansit ꝑut comp^{r} in comꝑ suo modo nō remañt n^{i} ccxvij pec̃ D̃nt ꝛ q̃d iđm H. lib̃ đno Thom̃ de Miltoñ c. s. sũ talꝯ ut bñ sciũt D̃nt ꝛ q̣d iđ H. nullũ mel emit ꝑut computat in empc̃oib ꝑ ip̃m⁊ fc̃is tempe T. de Miltoñ nisi tamẽ illud q̃d miscuit cũ melle antiq^{o} ꝛ cũ illo simul vendebatur ꝛ hoc apparet ꝑ comꝑ suũ q, nō oᵐat se in aliq^{o} loco illi^{9} comꝑ de melle empto Dicũt ꝛ q̃d nō emit pilkorñ n^{o} cariauit fab̃ n^{o} vina nec sal t̃mpe đni T. de Miltoñ si postea fec⁊it dñs Wilꝯs de Rogate qui nũc est camari^{9} poꝯ testificar̃ In cui^{9} rei testiõm sigilla ꝑdc̃o⁊ iurato⁊ ꝑsenti inquisic̃oi sunt appensa.

Extenta de Dyneuor fc̃a die đnica In vig̃ anũciac̃ois b̃e Mar̃ anno r̃ r̃ E. octauo Corã đno ꝛ Henr̃ de Bray̑ ꝑ sac^{a}menꝯ subsc^{i}pto⁊ vid⁊ Wilꝯi Vouchan Henr̃ ap Wronou Lewelin ap Kenewrec Griffit ap Owen Cradoc ap Eymer Cadugan ap Ioru^{a}d Res ap Howel Morgan ap Eymer Wilꝯmi ap Wronou Dauid ap Alisaundre Ioru^{a}d goch Madoc ap Res qui dicũt ꝑ sac^{a}menꝯ suũ q̃d est ibiđm quoddam cast^{u}m nō dũ plene repatũ q̃d si modo debito deberet repari custaret ad minus cc. ꝯi. (m. 2.)

Iꝯm dicũt q̃d si puteus deberet fi ad aquam ꝯndam inf^{a} castrũ custaret ad minus xxx lib^{a}s.

Iꝯm dicũt q̃d sunt ibiđm xxx ac̃r Walenc̃ in đnico qua⁊ quil⁊ ac^{a} val⁊ ꝑ Anñ iiij. đ. Sm^{a} x. s.

Iꝯm dicũt q̃d suñ ibiđm in đnico xviij ac^{a}s Walenc̃ q^{a}⁊ q̃lib⁊ val⁊ ꝑ anñ vj. đ. Sm^{a} ix. s.

Iꝯm dicũt q̃d est ibiđm vna ac^{a} p^{a}ti ꝛ val⁊ ꝑ anñ viij. đ.

Sm^{a} viij. đ.

APP. F.

Ittm dicūt q̄d villa de Gleygon soluit de redd̄ asiso p̄ anñ iiij. M^{a}r̄ vid$_{3}$ ad iiij ꝑminos anni p̄ eq^{a}li porc̄oe ad quēl$_{3}$ ꝑminū Sm^{a} iiij. M^{a}r̄.

Ittm dicūt q̄d sunt ibi xiiij firmar̄ qui tenēt j ac^{a}m ꝑre ꝛ val$_{3}$ p̄ anñ ij. s. ꝛ iiij. d̄. Sm^{a} ij. s. ꝛ iiij. d̄.

Ittm dicūt q̄d pꝛita ꝛ p̄quis hꝰietta ꝛ lerewita valēt p̄ anñ x. s. ꝛ iiij. d̄. Sm^{a} x. s. ꝛ iiij. d̄.

Ittm dicūt q̄d est ibi quoddam Molendinū aq^{a}ticū ꝛ val$_{3}$ p̄ anñ iij s ꝛ iiij. d̄. Sm^{a} iij. s. ꝛ iiij d̄.

Ittm dicūt q̄d libꝰe tenētes eiusd̄m Westua dabūt d̄no p̄ anū lxxiij busselꝫ aueñ ꝛ valēt p̄ anñ vj. s. ꝛ j. d̄.

Sm^{a} vj. s. ꝛ j. d̄.

Sm^{a} iiij. ꝫi. xv. s. ꝛ j. d̄.

Extenta de Karekenin cū cōmoto de Diskenin [Iskenin] coram p̄dc̄is p̄ sr̄m p̄dc̄oꝝ Iuratoꝝ.

qui dicūt p̄ sc̄rm suū q̄d est ibi quoddam cast^{u}m.

Ittm dicūt q̄d sunt ibi viij acre ꝑre in d̄nico q^{a}ꝝ q̄libꝫ ac^{a} valet p̄ anū vj. d̄. Sm^{a} iiij. s.

Ittm dicūt q̄d est ibm quid̄ comotꝰ que d̄r Diskenin ꝛ cōtinꝫ ix Westuas q^{a}ꝝ quelꝫ Westua redd̄ p̄ anñ de redd̄ asiꝫ iiij. M^{a}r̄ vidꝫ ad iiij anni ꝑminos p̄ eq^{a}li porc̄oe ad quēl$_{3}$ ꝑminū Sm^{a} xxiiij. ꝫi.

Ittm dicūt q̄d vbi debentr ītf^{a} dc̄m cōmoc̄ ij. d̄. redd̄ ħebit d̄ns j cribram aueñ que cribra val$_{3}$ j. d̄.

Sm^{a} xij. ꝫi.

q̄d dc̄i Iurati nō dicūt cribra valer̄ in toto p̄ anñ ū̄ t̄m xxvj ꝛ viij. d̄.

Ittm dicūt q̄d sunt ibid̄m xv tenentes qui redd̄ de redd̄ asiso vij. s. ꝛ debent nicħominꝰ custodire aꝺ̄lia d̄ni de cōsuetudīe ꝛ val$_{3}$ illud ꝺ̄uiciū iij. s. ix. d̄. p̄ anñ

Sm^{a} x. s. ꝛ ix. d̄.

Ittm dicūt q̄d est ibi quodd̄ Molendinū aq^{a}ticum ꝛ val$_{3}$ p̄ anñ xiij. s. ꝛ iiij. d̄. Sm^{a} xiij. s. ꝛ iiij. d̄.

Itm dicūt q̄d debent sustētar̄ ibid̄ ꝟuientes de Teylu suꝑibꝫ patˡe ꝯ valꝫ illud ꝟuiciū ꝑ annū liij. s. ꝯ iiij. d. APP. F.

Smª liij. s. ꝯ iiij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d pɬita ꝯ ꝑquisit̄ ibid̄ valēt ꝑ annū iiij. ɬi.

Smª iiij. ɬi.

Itm dicūt q̄d ɬietta ꝯ lerewita ibid̄m valēt ꝑ annū xx. s.

Smª xx. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d quando dn̄s iret in aliqª expedic̄oe ɬeret auxiliū de hōibꝫ suis eiusd̄m cōmor̄ ꝯ valet illud auxiliū ꝑ annū xl. s. Smª xl. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d est ibi quodd̄ pˢtū magnū in Montana quod cōtinꝫ in se CCC ac̄r̄ ꝯ vocatr̄ Bren aye q̄d quid̄ pˢtū nō ponitʳ ad aliquē valorē quia dicūt q̄d nō inuenitʳ aliquis in patˡa qui fenū velud cōpare nec qui in dc̄o pˢto alia velud ininstare [*sic*]

Item dicūt q̄d est ibi qued̄ foresta que vocatª Glinalan ꝯ valꝫ pastura illius foreste ꝑ annū x. s. Smª x. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d pannag̃ eiusd̄ foreste valꝫ ꝑ annū vj. s. ꝯ viij. d.

Smª vj. s. ꝯ viij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d est ibid̄ alia foresta que vocatʳ Brenaye ꝯ valꝫ ꝓficuū eiusd̄ foreste in ōibꝫ exitibꝫ ꝑ annū xx. s.

Smª xx. s.

Smª xlviij. [ɬi.] xviij. [s. ꝯ j]. d.

Memorand̄ q̄d Res ap Mereduc tenet iij Westuas de ballīa d̄ni Pagani de Cadurciis teñ quousq̄ dn̄s Rex facꝫet eid̄ Reso excambeū ꝑ ꝟra de Dineuor ꝯ vocatʳ ꝟra illa Mainormeyboncesyl ꝯ extenditur ad xij Mªr̄c̄ ꝑ annū de redd̄ asīo . pɬita ꝯ pquisita nō potuerūt extendere quia ꝟra iacet inculta ꝯ qªsi vacua. Smª xij. Mªr̄c̄

Mainor Meibon Scesyl.

Extenta de Cardigan f̄ca coram d̄no Ric̄o de Exoñ ꝯ Henr̄ de Bray ap̄d Cardigan die M̓cur̄ in cªstino sc̄i Gregor̄ (m. 3.)

APP. F.

anno r̃ r̃ E. octauo p̄ subsc̄ptos Juratoř vidz̄ **Joh̄ Penkoyd** Wilt̄m Penkoyd Joh̄m fit̄ đd **Walt̄m Longū đd du** Ad Fader Liwelin Vouchan **Kediuor Seys Liwelin ap Res** Robt̄m Walenš Iouan ap Ioru^{a}d **Griffit ap dun Qui dicūt** p̄ sac^{a}menť suū q̄d ap̄d **Cardigan est Castrum in quo est bona** Turris.

Ităm dicūt q̄d sunt ibi in đnico ccc ⁊ **xxx** acr̃ p̄ min^{o} .c. q^{a}ꝛ quilz̄ ac^{a} valet p̄ anñ iiij. đ. **Sm^{a} v. ti. x. š.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d sunt ibi v ac^{a}s p^{a}ti q^{a}ꝛ **quilz̄ valet p̄ anñ** viiij. đ. **Sm^{a} iij. š. ⁊ iiij. đ.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d ē queđ ꝑra q̄ **đr Nettpole ⁊ valz̄ p̄ anñ ij. š.** **Sm^{a} ij. š.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d sunt ibiđ silz̄ in dc̄a **villa de Cardigan c ⁊** xxx burgag̃ p̄ min^{o} .c. quoꝛ quodlz̄ **redđ p̄ anñ xij. š.** **Sm^{a} vj. ti. x. š.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d sunt ibiđ q̄d sunt ibi [*sic*] lx ⁊ **x chensarij** qui dicūt^{r} Burgenš de vento quoꝛ quilz̄ **redđ p̄ anñ xij. đ.** **Sm^{a} lxx. š.**

a { Ităm dicūt q̄d est ibi quedam ꝑra in đnico que đr Waꝑshulle ⁊ valz̄ p̄ anñ xx. š. **Sm^{a} xx. š.**

a { Ităm dicūt q̄d est ibi quedam **insula pasture in đnico cui^{o}** p̄ficuū valꝛ p̄ anñ vj. š. ⁊ viij. đ. **Sm^{a} vj. š. ⁊ viij. đ.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d p̄ita ⁊ p̄quiš Hundr̃ de eađm valz̄ p̄ anñ **xxx. š.** **Sm^{a} xxx. š.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d tolnetū M⁀cati de eađ valz̄ p̄ anñ **xx. š.** **Sm^{a} xx. š.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d p̄ficuū nūdinaꝛ valz̄ p̄ anñ l. š. **Sm^{a} l. š.**

Ităm dicūt q̄d de q^{a}libz̄ naui carcata de **xxx doleis vini ad** min^{o} et int^{a}nte portū de Cardigan ħebit dn̄s de prisa sua duo dolea vini p̄ xl. š. quā prisam nesciunt estimare.

Ităm dicūt q̄d dn̄s ħebit de q^{a}libz̄ bracina ꝯuisie inf^{a} đctam villam de Cardigan xiij lageñ ꝯuisie p̄ vj. đ. ⁊ valz̄ p̄ anñ xv. š. **Sm^{a} xv. š.**

Itm dicūt q̄d sunt ibi t'a Molend aq[a]tica ⁊ val3 p anñ vj. ħi. ⁊ xiij. s. ⁊ iiij. d. Sm[a] vj. ħi. ⁊ xiij. s. ⁊ iiij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d est ibid quedam piscar̄ ⁊ valet p anñ v. s. Sm[a] v. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d liḃi Walens reddunt p anñ xviij. s. ⁊ vj. d. Sm[a] xviij. s. ⁊ vj. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d Prior de Cardigan ten3 quand pticulā ꝑre ⁊ redd p anñ vj. d. Sm[a] vj. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d Rog̃s de Mortuomari ten3 j pticulam ꝑre ⁊ redd p anñ vj. d. Sm[a] vj. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d liḃi Walens reddūt p anñ sil3 in festo ap̄loꝝ Phi ⁊ Jacobi iiij q[a]r̄ de aueñ ꝑciū q[a]r̄ xij. d. Sm[a] iiij. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d ꝑdci Walens redd p anñ ij. vaccas sil3 in festo ꝑdcoꝝ Phi ⁊ Jacobi ꝑciū vacc̄ vij. s. Sm[a] xiiij. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d phita ⁊ pquis comitat⁹ de Cardigan valēt p anñ iiij. ħi. Sm[a] iiij. ħi.

Itm dicūt q̄d Pannag̃ ibidē val3 p anñ xij. d. Sm[a] xij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d liḃi tenētes debēt face sectam ad comitatū de Cardigan de Mense ad mēsā.

Itm dicūt q̄d quando balt de Cardigan deb3 ire in exc̄citū tūc đd fit ad Wladusi fit Leuwerch Joh fit Worgennu debent cariare victū ip̄ius equos si ħuerint.

Liwelinus fit p̄tin deb3 vigilare dñm dū fuit in exc̄citū ap̄d Cardigan.

Itm dicūt q̄d dñs ħebit wreccū maris inf[a] liḃtatem suam Ita tamē q̄d si inueniatur sup ꝑram alicui⁹ liḃi tenentis dci đni ⁊ valeat plusq[a]m v sol dñs ħebit dc̄m wrec ⁊ dabit liḃe tenēti v. s. Sm[a] xxxv. ħi. xiij. s. ⁊ x. d.

Extenta de Kermdin coram đno Ric̄o de Exoñ ⁊ Henr̄ de Bray ap̄d Kermdin die Luñ p̄x[a] añ festū anūciac̄ois ḃe Marie anno r̄ r̄ E. Octauo p sac[a]ment̄ sup[a]sc[i]ptoꝝ Meylir Vauchan Ric̄us le chapman Smoñ de de Bedeford Nich

APP. F. King Thom̃ le clerke Thom̃ Winꝑ Nich̃ Sinund Res Kreg Walt̃ Iuueñ Thom̃ Bulpen Ioh̃ Luring Maur̃ Bernard Qui dicūt q̃d est ibi q̃ddam castᵘm in quo est queđ bona [ ] ex v ꝑuis turribꝫ cōstructa.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi xx acr̃ ꝑre in đnico que ꝑra vocatʳ Archidiaconi qᵃꝫ quelꝫ acr̃ valet ꝑ anñ xij. đ. Smᵃ xx. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi xij acr̃ ꝑre in đnico in quodam loco qui đr Kildeuor quaꝫ quelꝫ acr̃ valꝫ ꝑ anñ viij. đ.

Smᵃ viij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi lxxviij acr̃ ꝑre in đnico quas firmarij tenēt ad voluntatē đni ⁊ valꝫ q̃libꝫ acᵃ ꝑ anñ viij. đ.

Smᵃ lij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi . . . . . pᵃti in Redcors ⁊ v acr̃ pᵃti in Dethoc qᵃ . . . . . ⁊ valꝫ ꝑ anñ iij. s. ⁊ iiij. đ.

. . . . . ⁊ iiij. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi . . . . . acr̃ pᵃti vltᵃ cewi ex oppoito castri qᵃꝫ quelꝫ . . . . . iij. s. ⁊ iiij. đ.

S . . . . . ⁊ viij. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d burgenš ꝑdče ville de Kermđin dant đno ꝑ cōmuna . . . . . ꝑ anñ x. s. . . . . .

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt in dča villa de Kermđin c. ⁊ lxix burgag̃ ꝑ minus . . . . . rg̃ valꝫ ꝑ . . . . .

Itm dicūt q̃d sūt ibi iiijˣˣ ⁊ vj qui dicuntʳ burgenš de vento quoꝫ q̃libꝫ solu . . . . . Smᵃ . . . . .

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi xxij chensar̃ quoꝫ quilꝫ soluit ꝑ anñ vj. đ. Smᵃ xj. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sūt ibi curtilagia ⁊ valent ꝑ anñ v. š. ⁊ j. đ.

Smᵃ v. s. ⁊ j. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d ꝑra Riči Faucon valꝫ ꝑ anñ ij. s.

Smᵃ ij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d Thom̃ Vollen tenet quanđ turrim ⁊ redđ ꝑ anñ iij. đ. Smᵃ iij. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d pł̃ita ⁊ ꝑquisit̃ Hundredi de Kermđin valēt ꝑ anñ lx. š. Smᵃ lx. s.

Item dicūt q̄d tolletū M⁽cati ibidem valet p̄ anñ viij. ℔i. Sm^{a} viij. ℔i. APP. F.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d exit^{9} nūdinaꝛ valet p̄ anñ v. ℔i. vj. s. ⁊ viij. d. Sm^{a} v. ℔i. vj. s. ⁊ viij. d.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d prisa vini ibid̄m valꝫ p̄ anñ C. s. Sm^{a} C. s.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d dñs ℏt iij p̄tes Molendinū q̄d vocat^{r} Cewismulle ⁊ valet p̄ anñ xxx. s. Sm^{a} xxx. s.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d sunt ibi vj gurgites in aq^{a} de tewi ⁊ valēt cū piscar̃ p̄ anñ lx. s. Sm^{a} lx. s.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d est ibi quedam piscar̃ ex supiori p̄te pontis ⁊ valet p̄ anñ viij. s. Sm^{a} viij. s.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d Thom̃ Bolpen redd̄ p̄ quod p^{a}to ap̄d Redcors dī ℔i pip̄is p̄ciū iiij. d. Sm^{a} iiij. d.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d Joℏ Luring̃ redd̄ p̄ quod p^{a}to in loco p̄dc̃o p̄ anñ dī lib̄ pip̄is p̄ciū iiij. d. Sm^{a} iiij. d.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d Id̄m Joℏ redd̄ p̄ vno Mesuag̃ ⁊ vna ac^{a} p^{a}ti vnā lib̄ simini p̄ciū j. d. Sm^{a} j. d.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d Pℏs Kist redd̄ p̄ anñ p̄ q^{a}dam p̄ra q̄ vocat^{r} Leylond j lib^{a} simini p̄ciū j. d. Sm^{a} j. d.

Iĩm M^{d} q̄d p̄cia p̄s cui^{9}dam molend̄i quod vocat^{r} Dāmmyle aleniata fuit tēp̄e d̄ni Edmūdi q̄ quid̄ p̄s valet p̄ anñ j M^{a}rcam ⁊ incartata fuit domini[1] hospitaℓ de Flebech [Slebech] p̄ dñm Edmūdum post vltimā extentam.

Adhuc de extenta de Kerm̄din. (m. 3. *dors.*)

Juraт̃ dicūt q̄d est ibi forinseca p̄ra ext^{a} villā que quid̄ p̄ra d̄r Redraw ⁊ clodor Kediuor ⁊ illā p̄rā tenēt lib̄i Wallenſ ⁊ reddūt p̄ ead̄ p̄ anñ vij. s. iiij. d. ⁊ ō. ⁊ faciūt sectam ad comitatū. Sm^{a} vij. s. iiij. d. ⁊ ō.

Et scien̄d q̄d tenentes p̄dc̃am p̄ram de Raderau ⁊ ceℓa dant p̄ releuijs ij. s. ⁊ p̄ seisina p̄re ℏnda ij. s.

Iĩm dicūt q̄d Walenſ Heluet de p̄te d̄ni Reg̃ de Derliſ ⁊ Widigada daℏt d̄no p̄ anñ xvij aℓia dĩd̄m aℓiū ⁊ p̄ciam p̄tē

[1] Sic, *for* domui.

APP. F. vni^{o} aueř p̄ciū cuiusl$_{3}$ auerij v. s. ⁊ licitū est dn̄o cape deñ uel alia p voluntate sua. Sm^{a} iiij. li. ix. s. ij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d releuia Walens ibidm valent p̄ anñ xl. s.

Sm^{a} xl. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d p̄lita ⁊ p̄quis comitat^{o} tam Anglico$_{3}$ q^{a}m Walenciū valēt p anñ xj. li. Sm^{a} xj. li.

Itm dicūt q̄d cū dñs volūit Walens cariabūt m̄emiū de bosco usq$_{3}$ cast^{u}m de Kerm̄din.

Sm^{a} lxviij. li. v. s. iiij. d. ⁊ ō.

Extenta p̄ra$_{3}$ West Wallie.

Cōmot^{o} de Meuenth.

(m. 4.) Jurat̄ dci Cōmot̄ sil$_{3}$ Griffit Crau Ieuan Meylir Owen ap Griffit Res ap Grifit goch Madoc Voil ap Griffit ap Madoc Howel ap Willī Griffit ap Wilm Griffit goch ap Lewelin Iouan ap Ener Iouā ap Griffit ap Iouan Madoc Vauchan Griffit ap Madoc dicūt p̄ scr̄m suū q̄d dñs Rex h̄t ibidm in dnico j dī Rantir que vocat^{r} Geylbach Gorlby que extenditur p anñ ad xiij. s. iiij. d.

Itm h̄t in dnico ibid quand̄ p̄ticulam p̄re que vocat^{r} Treuenant ⁊ Treuedin ⁊ estimatur p anñ vij. s. ⁊ x. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d dñs h̄t in dco Cōmoto quand̄ aliam p̄ticulam p̄re que vocat^{r} Trefonion ⁊ extendit^{r} p anñ ad v. s.

Dicūt ecciam q̄d dñs h̄t ibidm in dnico quond̄ p̄ram que vocat^{r} Roysmayde q̄ extenditur p̄ anñ viij. s. ⁊ iiij. d.

Sm^{a} extenť p̄ra$_{3}$ de dnico in deñ xxxiiij. s. ⁊ vj. d.

Dicūt eciam dci Iurat̄ q̄d in dco cōmoto sunt viij Westuas q^{a}$_{3}$ quel$_{3}$ Westua c̄tinet in se v Randirs ⁊ quil$_{3}$ Randir extenditur p̄ anñ de redd̄ assīo ad x. s. ⁊ viij. d. vid$_{3}$ ad iiij anni p̄minos p̄ eq^{a}li porc̄oe ad quēl$_{3}$ p̄minū Sm^{a} xxj. li. vj. s. ⁊ viij. d.

vacat qu^{a} supius. Dicūt ecciam q̄d quel$_{3}$ Westua q̄ solebat pasc̄e dñm cū familia sua q^{a}p̄ in anno ⁊ Weysenteylu venatores cū canib$_{3}$

đni falconarios cū auibꝫ ꝑ aduentꝰ suos q̄d quiđ ꝰuiciū vocatur Westꝭ ꝯ extenditr ꝑ anñ ad xxj. ħi. vj. ſ. viij. đ. et sciend est q̄d quelꝫ Westua debet redđe ad quēlꝫ ꝰminū j Mar vidꝫ ad iiij anni ꝰminos ut supa Sma xxj. ħi. vj. ſ. ꝯ viij. đ.

Dicūt ecciam q̄d viij ꝰuienꝭ de Keys debent pasci infa dc̄m cōmoꝭ ꝑ anñ ꝯ extenditr potra cuiꝰlibꝫ in die j. đ.

Sma xij. ħi. iij. ſ. iiij. đ.

Dicūt ecciam q̄d ij garc̄ ꝯ ij equi đni debent sustentari infa dc̄m cōmoꝭ a festo ōium sc̄oꝝ usq; festū ap̄loꝝ Phi ꝯ Jacobi ꝯ extenditr sustentac̄o cuiꝰlibꝫ garc̄ cū equo in die ij. đ. ut supius. Sma lx. ſ. ꝯ iiij. đ.

Dicūt eccia q̄d j garc̄o ꝯ j equo Raglou debet sustentari infa dc̄m cōmoꝭ ꝑ iđm tēpus ꝯ extenditr illud ꝰuiciū ad ij. đ. in die ut supius. Sma xxx. ſ. ꝯ ij. đ.

Dicūt ecciam q̄d liƀi Walenſ de eođ cōmoto dabūt auenā ad ꝰbenđ dextarij đni vidꝫ quilꝫ Walenſ j cribram aueñ ꝯ extenditr qelꝫ cribra aueñ ad j. đ. Sma ix. ſ. ꝯ xj. đ.

Dicūt ecciam q̄d fines ꝑita ꝯ ꝑquiſ extenduntr ꝑ anñ ad x. ħi. Sma x. ħi.

Iť dicūt q̄d ħietta releuia ꝯ lerewita valent ꝑ anñ c. ſ. Sma c. ſ.

Iť dicūt q̄d Pannag̃ porcoꝝ de cōsuetudīe valꝫ ꝑ anñ xx. ſ. Sma xx ſ.

Iť dicūt q̄d quociens dn̄s iret in expedic̄oe aliqua fc̄a gen̄ali sumonic̄oe de eundo secū de quolꝫ domi morant̄ sine licencia ħebit dn̄s j aliū ꝑcij v. ſ. q̄d nesciunt extendere.

Iť dicūt q̄d quando dn̄s iret in expedic̄oe exta comitat̄ de Cardigan q̄d ħebit de qalꝫ Westua iij. ſ. ꝯ iiij. đ. q̄d nesciunt extendere. Sma lxxv. ħi. xvij. ſ. ꝯ j. đ.

Extenta de Cōmoꝭ Heninioc.

Iurati dc̄i comñti silꝫ Cadugan ap Letheri Griffit ap Ioruad Griffit ꝑson Madoc ap Gronou đd ap Ithel Felip Vouchan Madoc ap Liwelin ap Ithel Madoc ap đd Heynon ap đd

APP. F. Griffit Vouchan Liuelin Forsat ⁊ Madoc ap Henr̃ dicūt ꝑ sc̃rm suū q̃d sunt in dc̃o cōmotc̃ ix Westuas de quib3 vj Westuas respondent d̃no Reg̃ ⁊ residue Ep̃o Meneuenc̃ ⁊ Abb̃ti de St̃a Florida q̃3 sex Westua quelib3 Westua cōtinet in se v Randirs ⁊ respondit quil3 Randir de redd̃ asiso ꝑ anñ de xiij. s. ⁊ iiij. d. vid3 ad iiij anñ ꝓminos ꝑ eq̃li porc̃oe ad quēl3 ꝓminū Sm̃ xvj. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d quel3 Westua solebat pasc̃e dñm cū familia sua quat̃ in anno ⁊ Weysonteulou venator̃ cū canib3 falconar̃ cū auib3 suis ꝑ suos aduent9 q̃d quidem ꝓuiciū vocat̃ Weest. ⁊ extēdit̃ in qual3 Westua ad iiij M̃cas ꝑ anñ soluend̃ ad iiij annos ꝓminos ut sup̃ ꝑ eq̃li porc̃oe ⁊c̃. Sm̃ xvj. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d vj ꝓuientes de Keys debēt pasci inf̃ dc̃m cōmot̃ ꝑ anñ ⁊ extenditur pot̃a cui9l3 ꝓuientis in die j. d.

Sm̃ ix. ti. ij. s. ⁊ x. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d ij garc̃ōñ ⁊ ij equi d̃ni debēt sustentar̃ inf̃ dc̃m cōmot̃ a festo om̃ium sc̃oz̃ usq; festū ap̃loz̃ Ph̃i ⁊ Jacobi ⁊ extendit̃ sustentac̃o cui9l3 garc̃ois cū equo in die ut supius

Sm̃ lx. s. ⁊ iiij. d.

sil3 ballīo pat̃e

Itm dicūt q̃d j garc̃ ⁊ j equus Raglou ∧ debet sustentar̃ inf̃ dc̃m cōmōt̃ ꝑ id̃m tempus ⁊ extenditur illud ꝓuiciū ad ij. d. in die ut supius Sm̃ xxx. s. ⁊ ij. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d lib̃i Walens̃ de eod̃ cōmoto dabūt auenā ad pbend̃ dext̃rij d̃ni vid3 quil3 Walēs̃ j cribrā aueñ ⁊ extendit̃ quel3 cribra aueñ ad j. d. Sm̃ iiij. s. ⁊ vij. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d fines p̃tita ⁊ ꝓquis̃ eius̃d cōmoti valēt ꝑ anñ ix. ti. Sm̃ ix. ti.

Itm dicūt q̃d h̃ietta releuia ⁊ lerewita valēt ꝑ anñ C. s.

Sm̃ C. s.

ibid̃

Itm dicūt q̃d pannag̃ ∧ de cōsuetudīe val3 ꝑ anñ xl. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d est ibi quoddā Molendīm cui9 due ꝑtes ꝑtinēt ad regē ⁊ valēt ille due ꝑtes ꝑ anñ xx. s.

Sm̃ xx. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d quociens dn̄s iret in expedic̄oe aliqua fc̄a gen̄ali sumonic̄oe de eundo secū de q̄olib3 domi morante sine licencia h̄ebit dn̄s j al̄iū p̄cii v. s.

Itm dicūt q̄d [ ] dn̄s iret in expedic̄oe ext^{a} com̄ de Cardigan q̄d h̄ebit de q^{a}lib3 Westua iij. s. ⁊ iiij. d.

Sm^{a} lxiij. li. ⁊ xj. d.

Extenta Ville de Treuillan.

Itm Iurati dicūt q̄d est ibidm quedam p̄ra in dnico que val3 p anū xxvj. s. ⁊ viij. Sm^{a} xxvj. s. ⁊ viij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d est ibi queđ p̄ra que đr p̄ra de Leswen ⁊ valet p anū liij. s. ⁊ iiij. d. Sm^{a} liij. s. ⁊ iiij. d.

Itm dicūt q̄d opa ⁊ cōsuetudines custimario^{z} ibidm valent p anū ij. s. Sm^{a} ij. s.

Sm^{a} iiij. li. ⁊ ij. s.

Sm^{a} Sm^{a}^{z} lxvij. li. ij. s. ⁊ xj. d.

Extenta Manlij de Lampadvaur fc̄a in c^{a}stino Sc̄i Mathie ap̄li anno r̄ r̄ Edwardi Octauo coram dno Ric̄o de Exoñ ⁊ Mag̃ro Henr̄ de Bray p Mandat̄ dni Reg̃ p sac^{a}mēt subsc^{i}pto^{z} (m. 5.)

Cōmot̄ Puith.

Res̄ gou Wm ap đd ap Codugan Đđd ap Lewelin Griffit gouch Wurgeniu ap Kediuor Wronou gouch Res ap Iouan Iouan Waucham Madoc ap Ioru^{a}d Iuor ap Griffit Ađ ap Madoc gothel Meredit ap Ioru^{a}d qui Iur̄ dicūt p sac^{a}ment̄ suū q̄d est ibi quidam sitis castri cū villa Muro lapideo inclausa que quidē villa contin3 in longitudīe lxxv pticas ⁊ in latitudīe lxxj pticas vid3 ptica xx pedū

Itm dicūt quod sunt ibi iiij carucate p̄re in dnico que p̄ra đr Llanvaddaf̣ q^{a}rū quel3 carucat̄ p̄ra extendit^{a} p anū ad vj sol ⁊ viij. d. Sm^{a} xxvj. s. ⁊ viij. d.

Itm est ibi quoddam p^{a}tum iuxta aquam de Aberclaraw

App. F. q̃d nō est in eod̃ cōmoto et ideo quamvis extendatur ad C. s. nō ponitur in sm[a] subseq̃nti quia sunt quid̃ Walens̄ qui dicūt se h̄re ius in p̄dc̄o p[a]to.

Itm dicūt quod sunt inf[a] dc̄m cōmoī quatuor Westua q[a]ꝫ quelibꝫ Westua continet in se quinq; Randirs ꝯ extendit[r] quilibꝫ Rantir de redd̃ asiso p anñ de x. s. ꝯ viij. d. vidꝫ ad iiij p̄minos ꝑ eq[a]li porc̄oe ad quemlꝫ p̄minū

Sm[a] x. ti. x[iij. s.] ꝯ iiij. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d quelꝫ Westua solebat pasc̄e dñm cū familia sua q[a]ter in anno ꝯ Weysenteylu venatores cū [can]ibꝫ d̄ni falconarios cū auibꝫ suis ꝑ aduent[o] suos q̃d quid̃ p̄uiciū vocat[r] West. ꝯ extendit[r] illud West. in qualꝫ Westua ad iiij M[a]cas ꝑ anñ soluendas ad q[a]tuor p̄minos anñ ut sup[a] ꝑ eq[a]li porc̄oe.

Sm[a] x. ti. xiij. s. ꝯ iiij. d.

Itm dicūt quod q[a]tuor p̄uienī de Keys debent pasci inf[a] dc̄m cōmoī ꝑ anñ ꝯ extendit[a] pot[or]a cui[o]libꝫ in die j. d.

Sm[a] vj. ti. ꝯ xx. d.

Itm dicūt quod duo garcōn ꝯ duo equi d̄ni debent sustentari inf[a] dc̄m cōmoī a festo ōium sc̄oꝝ usq; festū ap̄loꝝ Phi ꝯ Jacob̄ ꝯ extendit[r] sustentac̄o cui[o]lꝫ garc̄ cū equo in die ij. d.

Sm[a] lx. s. ꝯ iiij. d.

Itm dicūt quod vnus garc̄o ꝯ vn[o] equus Raglou silꝫ balti pat'e debet sustentari inf[a] dc̄m cōmoī ꝑ id̃m tēpus ꝯ extendit[r] illud p̄uiciū in die ad ij. d. ut supius

Sm[a] xxx. s. ꝯ ij. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d liti Wallens̄ de eodem cōmoto dabūt auenā ad p̄bend̃ dext[a]rij d̄ni vidꝫ quilꝫ vnā cribram aueñ ꝯ extendit[r] quelꝫ cribra aueñ ad j. d. Sm[a] x. s. ꝯ ix. d.

Itm dicūt q̃d fines p̄tita ꝯ p̄quisita eiusd̃m cōmoti extendunt[r] ꝑ anñ ad C. s. Sm[a] patꝫ.

Itm dicūt q̃d h̄ietta releuia ꝯ lerewita ibid̃m extendunt[r] ꝑ anñ ad iiij lib[a]s. Sm[a] patꝫ.

Itm dicūt q̃d Pannag̃ de cōsuetudīe extendit^{r} p̄ anñ ad xx. s. Sm^{a} pat$_{3}$.

Itm dicūt q̃d quociens dñs iret in expedic̃oe aliq^{a} fc̃ genali sumonic̃oe de eundo secū de quol$_{3}$ domi morant̃ sine licencia ℞eret dñs vnū aliū p̄cij v. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d quando đns iret in expedic̃oe ext^{a} comīt de Cerdigan q̃d ℞eret de q^{a}lib$_{3}$ Westua iij. s. ⁊ iiij. đ.

Sm^{a} xliij. ℞i. xvj. s. ⁊ iij. đ.

Cōmot$^{\circ}$ de Croudin.

Iurati dc̃i cōmoti sil$_{3}$ Ađ ap Howel Cadugan Voil Cadugan ap Griffit Meylor ap Lewelin Ioru^{a}d ap Griffit đd ap Griffit Vouchan Res ap Lewelin Griffit ap Howel Howel Vauchan Griffit gouch Griffit Vauchan ap Madoc Iouan Vouchan dicūt p̄ s̄cr̃m suū q̃d sunt ibi in đnico viij carucate p̄re que p̄ra đr Dynasmaylur q^{a}ꝫ quel$_{3}$ carucat̃ p̄re extendit^{r} p̄ anñ ad x. s. Sm^{a} iiij. ℞i.

Itm dicūt q̃d est vna carucat̃ p̄re ap̄d Ruarthem̃ ⁊ extendit^{r} p̄ anñ ad xij. s. Sm^{a} xij. s.

Itm dicūt q̃d sunt inf^{a} dc̃m cōmot̃ vj Westuas q^{a}ꝫ quel$_{3}$ Westua contin$_{3}$ in se v Randirs ⁊ extendit^{r} quil$_{3}$ Randir de x. s. ⁊ viij. đ. redđ asiso p̄ anñ ˄ vid$_{3}$ ad iiij p̄minos p̄ eq^{a}li porc̃oe ad quēl$_{3}$ p̄minū Sm^{a} xvj. ℞i.

Itm dicūt q̃d quelib$_{3}$ Westua solebat pasc̄e đñm cū familia sua q^{a}ter in anñ ⁊ Weysenteylu venatores cū canib$_{3}$ đni falconarios cū auib$_{3}$ suis p̄ suos aduent$^{\circ}$ q̃d quidem p̄uiciū vocat^{r} Weest ⁊ extendit^{r} illud Weest in qual$_{3}$ Westua ad q^{a}tuor M^{a}rcas p̄ anñ soluendas ad q^{a}tuor p̄minos anni ut sup^{a} p̄ eq^{a}li porc̃oe Sm^{a} xvj. ℞i.

Itm dicūt q̃d vj p̄uienṫ de Keys debent pasci inf^{a} dc̃m cōmot̃ p̄ anñ ⁊ extendit^{r} pot^{or}a cui$^{\circ}$l$_{3}$ in die j. đ.

Sm^{a} ix. ℞i. ij. s. ⁊ vj. đ.

Itm dicūt q̃d iij garc̃ ⁊ iij equi ˄ đni debent sustentar̃ inf^{a}

APP. F. dc̄m cōmoꝺ a festo ōium scoꝝ usq; festū ap̄loꝝ Phi ⁊ Jacobi ⁊ extendit[r] sustentacō cui[9]lꝫ garc̄ cū equo in die ij. ꝺ.

Sm[a] iiij. li. x. s. ⁊ vj. ꝺ.

Itm dicūt q̄ꝺ vnus garc̄ ⁊ vnus equus Raglou silꝫ balli pat'e debēt sustentaꝛ inf[a] dc̄m cōmoꝺ p iꝺm temp[9] ⁊ extendit[r] illud ꝟuiciū ad ij. ꝺ. in die ut supius. Sm[a] xxx. s. ⁊ ij. ꝺ.

Itm dicūt q̄ꝺ liꝺi Walenſ de eoꝺ cōmoto debēt auenā ad ꝓbenꝺ dext[a]rij ꝺni vidꝫ quilꝫ vnā cribrā aueñ ⁊ extendit[r] quelꝫ cribra aueñ ad j. ꝺ. Sm[a] xv. s. ⁊ vj. d.

Itm dicūt q̄ꝺ fines ꝟhita ⁊ ꝑquiſ eiusꝺ cōmoti extenduntr p anñ ad vj. li. xiij. s. ⁊ iiij. ꝺ. Sm[a] patꝫ.

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Itm dicūt q̄ꝺ Pannag̃ de cōsuetuꝺie extendit[r] p anñ ad xl. s. Sm[a] patꝫ.

Itm dicūt q̄ꝺ quociens dn̄s iret in expedic̄oe aliq[a] fc̄a gen̄ali sumonic̄oe de eundo secū de quolꝫ domi moranꝺ sine licencia hebit dn̄s j aꝟiū ꝓcij v. s.

Itm dicūt q̄ꝺ quando dn̄s iret in expedic̄oe ext[a] comitaꝛ de Cardigan q̄ꝺ hebit de q[a]libꝫ Westua iij. s. ⁊ iiij. ꝺ.

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